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ABSTRACT

This book provides an historical assessment of educational cooperation within the British Commonwealth, during both the imperial and postimperial periods. However, the author makes no attempt to examine the educational policies or institutions of the individual territories or countries, except as they have affected the development of international cooperation. Individual chapters examine the nature of the modern Commonwealth, educational policy during the imperial period, educational cooperation in the Commonwealth since 1945, adult education in the Commonwealth, higher education in the Commonwealth, the use of instructional media in the Commonwealth, and international relations between the Commonwealth and other nations. (Author/JG)

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# EDUCATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE COMMONWEALTH

## An Historical Study

Series in Education

Occasional Paper No. 1 (1972)

*by*

**NORMAN ATKINSON**
M.Litt., Ph.D.(Dub.), Dip.Ed.(Lond.).

*READER IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF RHODESIA*

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*'This association must depend, not on the old concept of a common allegiance, but upon the new principle of a common idealism.'* Harold Macmillan in the House of Commons, 22 March 1961.

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CONTENTS

Page

1. **A NEW COMMONWEALTH** ..... 7

2. **IMPERIAL LEGACY** ..... 15
Steps towards an imperial education policy — the Imperial Education Conferences — Education for local development; Lugard and Guggisberg; activities of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee for Africa — the Advisory Committee re-constituted to serve the Colonial Empire as a whole; Sir Percy Nunn and the education of teachers for the Empire — the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts — moves towards self-government for the Colonies; criticisms of British imperial educational policy — the case for and against British paternalism

3. **PARTNERSHIP** ..... 64
The emergence of new independent states within the Commonwealth; changing relationships in educational co-operation — the Colombo Plan — the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan and the Afro-Anglo-American Programme — education for the 'good life' as envisaged by the Oxford Conference of 1959 — work of later Commonwealth Education Conferences; establishment of the Commonwealth Secretariat — Britain's aid to former dependent territories — pragmatism for an age of rapid development; Gandhi and Nyerere

4. **ADULT EDUCATION** ..... 103
A widening educational gap between developed and developing countries; education for political responsibility — community development; example of the West Indies — the role of the universities — extra-mural departments in overseas universities; a new approach in Rhodesia — education for women — adult education to interpret and support the processes of change

5. **HIGHER EDUCATION** ..... 129
Establishment of the British university tradition overseas — the Universities Congresses; establishment of the Universities Bureau — the Asquith Commission and the foundation of university colleges in the Colonies — the Ashby Commission and the foundation of universities in new states — special relationship with London University; the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies — later Universities Congresses and a wider sharing of responsibility for co-operation — towards a richer academic tradition

6. **RESEARCH** ..... 175
A close relationship between research and educational development; the beginning of Commonwealth studies in United Kingdom Universities — the Scarbrough Report — delays in developing a co-ordinated research policy for the Colonial Empire; impact of the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts; work of the Colonial Research Committee — establishment of the Institute of Development Studies

7. **METHODS AND MEDIA** ..... 194
The coming of the film and wireless; efforts to preserve the freedom of the media from outside control; overseas services of the B.B.C.; the Plymouth Report and the extension of broadcasting in the Colonies — the Royal Commonwealth Society and the Commonwealth Institute — the British Council; re-organisation after the Drogheda Report; the teaching of English as a second language — efforts of the Ottawa Conference towards closer co-operation in the use of mass media; educational television; an Australian-Japanese survey of television requirements; the origins of C.E.D.O. — public examinations

8. **BRIDGE BUILDING** ..... 226
**Transcript of Documents** ..... 238
**Bibliography** ..... 251
**INDEX** ..... 266

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This work is intended to provide an assessment of educational co-operation in the Commonwealth, during both the imperial and post-imperial periods. There has been no attempt to examine the educational policies or institutions of individual territories, except in so far as they have affected the development of international co-operation.

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N.D.A.

November 1973

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME

| | |
|---|---|
| *A.R.* | *Annual Register* |
| B.B.C. | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| B.C. | British Council |
| B.M. | British Museum |
| Cd. | Command Papers, Third Series, 1900-1918 |
| Cmd. | Command Papers, Fourth Series, 1919-1956 |
| Cmnd. | Command Papers, Fifth Series, 1956- |
| C.O.I. | Central Office of Information, London |
| Col. | Colonial Office Papers |
| *C.R.* | *Colonial Review* |
| *C.S.* | *Commonwealth Survey* |
| *K.C.A.* | *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* |
| *O.Q.* | *Overseas Quarterly* |
| P.R.O. | Public Record Office, London |
| *T.E.S.* | *Times Educational Supplement* |
| H.M.S.O. | Her Majesty's Stationery Office |
| U.N.E.S.C.O. | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation |

## CHAPTER 1

## A NEW COMMONWEALTH

The most obvious feature of the modern Commonwealth is its diversity. As an assortment of independent states, with a variety of cultural and political traditions, the Commonwealth possesses little organic unity of any discernible kind. Nevertheless, the implications of such a situation can easily be carried too far. There is, at the same time, a body of human experience, and a level of human aspiration, which all the peoples of the Commonwealth share together.

One remarkable picture of the kind of Commonwealth organisation which has come into being since the end of the Second World War was produced by a writer in the *Annual Register*, studying British press comment on the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference of 1960. The British Empire, he wrote, had in its day shown some of the features of a school, 'one of the most notable schools in history'. No doubt, like even the best of schools, it had been at times somewhat irritating to its pupils, and they were glad enough at the end of their course to leave. Yet all, with certain notable exceptions like the Irish Republic, were conscious of the extent to which it had contributed to their own individual development, and expressed their recognition of the fact by joining the Commonwealth. If the British Empire could be likened to a school, then the Commonwealth was certainly an Old Boys' Association. It remained to be seen, however, if Commonwealth consultations, like Old Boys' gatherings, would mainly be concerned with the sharing of nostalgic recollections of the past, or might succeed in producing some new and more substantial basis for friendship in the future.[1]

The illustration, though no doubt a little fanciful, gave due recognition to one central feature which all Commonwealth countries share in common — the experience, at some time or other, of living under British rule. The nature of the experience, and the impact which it made, differed remarkably according to the circumstances of each individual territory. For the British, being perhaps the most pragmatic of modern European imperialists, were invariably insistent that each of their territories should develop in its own distinctive way. Yet certain aspects of British life, to a greater or lesser extent, had far-reaching influence over the development of virtually every community over

[1] *A. R.*, 1960, p.20.

which Britain once held sway.

Among these, the English language has had an effect in innumerable different ways. In some of the older British settlements, notably Australia and New Zealand, English is the badge of British ancestry and an inheritance of the British way of life. In Canada it competes with French in influencing the growth of an inescapeably bilingual society. In many of the newer Commonwealth countries — for example, Ghana, Malawi and Zambia — it is used as an influence of unification, capable of bringing together different cultural and tribal traditions in the same national identity. In others — India, Sri Lanka and Tanzania — it has given place to a local language as the main official medium. Yet these variations notwithstanding, every community throughout the Commonwealth is in a position to make use of English as a means of communication with other members states, and as a gateway to the stores of knowledge and experience which are shared by all the peoples of the English-speaking world.

A second British influence, the rule of law and democratic ideals of government, has had less obvious effects in many parts of the Commonwealth. African countries, during the early years of independence at any rate, have increasingly tended to react in favour of the traditional norms and attitudes of African culture. Their aim has been the construction of new political institutions, capable of giving renewed expression to the traditions of African life in the circumstances of the modern world. More often than not, they have brought about a transformation of the sharply defined group relationships of tribal society into the autocratic framework of the one-party state. Such a development should not, however, be allowed to obscure the significance of lessons learnt in the days of British colonial rule; it is clear that the rights of the individual, and the obligation of the state to safeguard his educational growth in every respect, have received a degree of emphasis which can hardly fail to have social, economic and even political effects in years to come.

Finally, and in a rather more intangible way, there is the vast series of relationships between peoples and institutions grown used to doing business together. 'Commonwealth countries,' observed one British expert in overseas development, 'have been operating together now for a very long period of time. There has been accumulated, in some cases over centuries, in many cases over decades, a vast source of knowledge —knowledge of each other's special conditions of life, of each other's societies and so on. It is a knowledge which resides in people's experience, and experience that is passed on from one to another.'[2] Whatever

differences there might be in the circumstances and aspirations of individual Commonwealth states, and whatever other alignments and associations they might decide to enter into on their own account, co-operation between them was made all the easier by reason of the countless channels of communication established during the days when they formed part of the same imperial system.

However, any attempt to explain the modern Commonwealth simply in terms of the former relationship of its member states to the British Empire will certainly miss the heart of the matter. The Commonwealth, an an experiment in international co-operation and understanding, is something completely new. As H.M. Queen Elizabeth II declared significantly, in a message broadcast from New Zealand at Christmas 1953: 'The Commonwealth bears no resemblance to the Empires of the past. It is an entirely new conception built on the highest qualities of the spirit of man: friendship, loyalty and the desire for freedom and peace.'[3] Henceforth, it appeared, the Commonwealth relationship was to rest on the basis of an equal partnership between peoples of different stock, rather than on British dominance in any form. The point was re-emphasised some time afterwards by the United Kingdom prime minister, Harold Macmillan, speaking at a Royal Academy dinner on 29 April 1958, which followed his return from a tour of Commonwealth countries in Asia and Australasia: 'The world has seen the decline and fall of many great Empires — we have all read their story. No one has ever seen this mysterious and almost incredible development in the structure of the Commonwealth, which has strengthened it instead of weakened it — *which has in it the seeds not of decay but of a new growth.*'[4]

The 'mysterious and incredible development' to which Macmillan referred was by no means confined to the process by which British administrators led successive overseas territories to independence during the decade or two which followed the close of the Second World War. Of much greater significance was an acceptance, by the leaders of newly-independent countries themselves, that there was a practical role in the world for an organisation composed of members who had lately escaped from the bonds of British imperial tutelage. Their view of the Commonwealth was well expressed in the words of the first Secretary-General, Arnold Smith:

The Commonwealth is a living organism, not a political blueprint.

[3] T. Soper, *Evolving Commonwealth*, Oxford 1965, p.128.
[4] *The Times*, No. 52814 (28 Dec. 1953), p.5.
[5] *A. R.*, 1958, p.69.

It has developed over the years, not according to any written constitution or central plan, but as a product of a long series of courageous and sometimes very difficult decisions, on immediate and practical issues, by statesmen from many parts of the world. It began by an entirely novel concept in inter-national relations: that colonies could attain sovereign independence by a process of negotiation—sometimes involving difficulties of pressure, persuasion and argument, but ultimately by peaceful and friendly agreement — with the former administering power. This solution to the problem of national liberation, which previously had been insoluble peacefully, has been of great significance in world politics.

The Commonwealth, however, is not in any sense an automatic, inevitable or obvious result of the peaceful dissolution of an Empire. Several nations once governed directly or indirectly by Britain are not members of the Commonwealth. When statesmen who have led their nations to independence have decided to seek membership in the Commonwealth, they have not appeared to be motivated by sentimentality about the past, but by a constructive vision of the future and by realistic assessments about their country's national interest. For many of them the past included memories of racial discrimination, political struggle and jail. The decision was taken because their leaders saw practical value for their countries and for humanity, in retaining and building on the positive aspects of an association that links races and continents, and in surmounting past iniquities, rather than in using unpleasant memories and resentments for nation-building based on the perpetuation of suspicions and divisions, as lesser politicians have so often done.[5]

The role of the Commonwealth has clearly been determined by the character of the members of which it is composed — members who 'come from territories in the six continents and five oceans, include peoples of different races, languages and religions, and display every stage of economic development from poor developing nations to wealthy industrialised nations'.[6] In such a conglomerate society, it is no longer possible to unite for military action or, indeed, to aim at common political objectives of any kind. During the period between the two World Wars, the leaders of the old Dominions had been content, in the main, to follow the holist philosophy of Jan Smuts, and to submerge

[5] *Report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General*, 1966, p.1.
[6] Declaration of Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference, 1971. *K.C.A.*, 1971-2, f. 24441. B.

the urgings of national ambition for the sake of a wider political unity.[7] But holist ideals can be expected to hold few attractions for new national states, anxiously seeking to emphasise their separate identity, as a means of minimising the effect of tribal and cultural divisions amongst their own people. Their membership of the Commonwealth does not imply any renunciation of the right to join other international groupings of various kinds, or simply to remain unaligned. It is necessarily limited to activities which are peaceful and humanitarian in form. As one United Kingdom Commonwealth Secretary, Duncan Sandys, explained, the function of the Commonwealth is to work for 'the realisation of the basic aspirations of humanity — peace, freedom and the rule of law'. No task, he considered, was more important or more urgent in the conditions of the contemporary world, and no group of nations more fitted by circumstances and tradition to discharge it.[8]

Opinions varied, however, as to the ways in which the Commonwealth might contribute to the realisation of peace, freedom and the rule of law. Lord Elton summed up a view still held by many British observers during the late 1950s when he described the Commonwealth as 'an antechamber of world government'.[9] A somewhat more elaborate form of the same idea was presented several years later by Derek Ingram with his plan for a wider Commonwealth organisation formed by the rejoining of former members and the addition of other states with similar traditions, such as Norway.[10] These suggestions were not without support amongst the leaders of the newer Commonwealth states. It would seem that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia was

[7] Smuts's philosophy was synthesised in his *Holism and Evolution*, (New York: Macmillan, 1926), written while out of office during the summer of 1924. His ideas appear to have taken shape in early manhood, from a study of the poetry of Goethe and Walt Whitman, and to have been confirmed by subsequent observations of racial and community tensions in South Africa: 'We all feel we have to be guided by some light through the maze of life . . . What we want is some larger synthesis, some concepts that will bring together the vast details with which we have to deal. There has been an immense movement forward in thought, science, philosophy and all forms of human development. We are now running the risk of getting lost, becoming submerged in the details, and it is all important to get some larger view of all this vast mass.' See J. C. Smuts, *Jan Christian Smuts*, Cape Town 1952, pp.286-293. Though Smuts saw the Commonwealth as a community of independent national states, he was at pains to emphasise the unity of purpose and interest which bound them together.

[8] Duncan Sandys, *The Modern Commonwealth*, London 1962, p.25.

[9] Lord Elton, *The British Achievement*, London 1959, p.23.

[10] D. Ingram, *The Commonwealth Challenge*, London 1962, p.277.

expressing a representative view when he explained: 'Our feeling is that unless we can grow in community with nations whose attachments are grounded in the same tradition of British tutelage, there is little hope of an accommodation on a world scale being achieved.'[11] Nevertheless, the newly independent states could not be expected to view with favour any form of relationship which imposed limits on their jealously guarded freedom of action. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania emphasised the point by saying: 'Stronger than treaties, less selfish than alliances, less restrictive than other associations, the Commonwealth seems to my colleagues and myself to offer the best hope . . . of lasting peace and friendship among the peoples of the world.'[12] As the 1960s went on, it became increasingly more apparent that Commonwealth links would be informal, undefinable, easily adapted to change. The great need of the time, it seemed, was the evolution of new machinery for international co-operation, independent of political alignments of any kind. One of the earliest attempts to define the terms of this new relationship came from a conference held at Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, during 1963, to discuss the future role of Britain in Commonwealth affairs. The Commonwealth, it was decided, 'was *an association of peoples* rather than an organisation of governments'; while there was much that governments could and should do to assist in various ways, the real strength of the organisation lay in the ties of friendship which bound its peoples to each other.[13]

Within this concept of the Commonwealth as 'an association of peoples' lies perhaps the most realistic basis on which future progress can be built. It enjoys — like Smuts's ideal of a holist organisation during the years between the World Wars — a certain philosophic background in the sharing of a common belief in racial equality, the freedom of the individual, and the right of each member country to unrestricted control over its own affairs. Indeed, these principles have ultimately been confirmed in the Commonwealth Declaration, produced by the Heads of Government at their Singapore Conference of 1971, which affirmed a belief 'that international peace and order are essential to the security and prosperity of mankind'; 'in the liberty of the individual, in equal right for all citizens regardless of race, colour, creed or political belief, and in their inalienable right to participate by means of free and democratic political processes in forming the society in

[11] K. Kaunda, *A Humanist in Africa*, London 1966, p.134.
[12] A. Smith, 'The Need for Commonwealth,' in *Round Table*, No. 223 (July 1966), pp.219-37.
[13] T. P. Soper, *Report of Ditchley Park Conference*, 1963, p.7.

which they live'; 'that the wide disparities in wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated'; 'that international co-operation is essential to remove the causes of war, combat injustice and secure development amongst the peoples of the world'.[14] Yet, viewed in more practical terms, the new concept opens the way for the encouragement of a wide variety of relationships at both governmental and non-governmental level. At the same time it enables governments to both give and receive international assistance, to an extent which might not otherwise have been acceptable to those who elected them to power. In the eyes of successive United Kingdom administrations, Commonwealth relationships have provided a focus in which British public opinion can be reconciled to discharging the residual responsibilities of imperial power. 'The Commonwealth idea,' said Sir Alec Douglas-Home, 'carries with it in the public mind a sense of historic obligation which makes sacrifices justified, and we can do, under the Commonwealth umbrella, what we could never do for Commonwealth countries, if that umbrella was taken down.'[15] For the newer Commonwealth countries, to an even greater extent, it has provided ample justification for the acceptance of substantial quantities of external aid—much of it from the former imperial masters—without any fear of having compromised their ideals of national independence.

Certain areas of international co-operation are clearly particularly appropriate to the kind of informal relationship which the Commonwealth bond implies. A number of them were listed by the Ditchley Park conference of 1963: technical aid, professional training, co-operation in agricultural development, programmes of education at every level, the teaching of English and voluntary service in developing countries.[16] All of these matters provide considerable freedom of initiative for philanthropic effort, whether acting through or apart from the machinery of government. All have received firm and consistent emphasis from statesmen in virtually every Commonwealth country since the close of the Second World War. Indeed, it is perhaps significant that the earliest large-scale attempts at co-operation between the older and newer states of the Commonwealth were motivated largely by considerations of educational development in its widest possible sense. In making arrangements for the Colombo Plan during the early 1950s, and for the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan which

[14] Declaration of Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference, 1971, *K.C.A.*, 1971-2, f. 24441. B.
[15] *Survey of British and Commonwealth Affairs*, IV. 24 (20 Nov. 1970), pp.1013-1015.
[16] T. P. Soper, p.7.

followed it a decade or so later, Commonwealth statesmen affirmed their belief in education as the one essential prerequisite for social and economic advance. Their thinking was confirmed by the delegates to the first Commonwealth Education Conference at Oxford in 1959 who decided that education was 'fundamental to the strength and stability of the Commonwealth and to social and human dignity which must be its inspiration'. There could, they considered, be little progress towards achieving the 'good life and happiness' sought by all the peoples of the Commonwealth without some concerted attempt at educational development at a variety of different levels:

> Freedom from want demands the application of technical skills of ever-increasing complexity. The stability of our democratic way of life requires maturity of judgment in the citizen that can come only from a good general education. The increasing pace of development and the growing interdependence of modern society call for the highest intellectual and moral qualities. Above all it is through a sound and balanced education that the individual must seek the fulfilment of his personality and the enrichment of his life.[17]

These are objects which no twentieth-century national government can reasonably expect to accomplish on its own account. In an age of rapid scientific and technological advance, there is a need for a wide variety of educational contacts on an international level. In this sense, education has become, in the words used by the Ashby Commission for Nigeria in 1960, 'an international enterprise'.[18] As one of the chief agencies of international co-operation in education, the Commonwealth has almost gained in effectiveness with the passing of its phase of British imperial dominance. More than at any time in the past, it is possible to give or to receive educational aid without suspicion of political influence. Nevertheless, imperial traditions live on, in at least one important respect. The characteristically British habit of pragmatism, which, since the early years of the present century, has opened the way to a series of far-reaching changes in the constitutional structure of the Commonwealth, has made a no less significant impact in educational fields. Through its long tradition of realism, of finding solutions to problems of educational development according to the circumstances of each individual case, has come much of the strength of the modern Commonwealth as an instrument of human progress and endeavour.

[17] *Report of Commonwealth Education Conference*, 1959, paras.6-7.
[18] *Report of Commission on Post-School Cert. and Higher Educ. in Nigeria*, 1960, p.3.

## CHAPTER 2

## IMPERIAL LEGACY

### Steps Towards an Imperial Education Policy

The British Empire, which took shape from the late sixteenth to the early twentieth century, was the result of a wide variety of circumstances rather than any consistent imperial policy. Considerations of trade, and military strategy, and political advantage all played their part to a varying degree in the quest for overseas territories. Until the middle years of the nineteenth century, at any rate, there was remarkably little attempt to define the nature of the aims and relationships on which the imperial system rested.

Educational development in the British overseas territories was rarely affected by decisions of policy laid down from London. Some early guide-lines for future policy were produced by Tudor rulers in Ireland, forced as they were to take measures against the strength and resilience of Gaelic culture, which often provided a rallying-point for resistance to the authority of the English Crown. Their aim was the extension of English culture and influence, through the educational machinery of the Anglican Church. An Act passed by the Irish Parliament in 1538 required each parochial clergyman to establish a school for the purpose of giving free instruction in English, whilst further legislation in 1570 called on each bishop to establish a grammar school in the chief town of his diocese.[1] These arrangements were not, however, rewarded with any substantial measure of success. The later educational history of Ireland, in which a well-endowed Anglican school system continued to be shunned by the Roman Catholic mass of the population, served to give ample warning of the dangers of attempting to conduct official education policy through the agency of any one denominational group.

The mistake was more difficult to repeat in the North American colonies. On the one hand, new ideas of religious toleration, put forward by such leaders of colonial opinion as Roger Williams in Massachusetts and William Penn in Pensylvania, and on the other, the need to preserve a balance between a number of powerful denominational communities, made it impracticable to rely on educational activities by the Anglican Church. In Canada, when attempts were made at the end of

[1] N. Atkinson, *Irish Education*, Dublin 1969, pp.18 and 29.

the eighteenth century to consolidate educational institutions, imperial administrators were seen to be taking an unobtrusive role. Only in Lower Canada (later the Province of Quebec), where special difficulties were presented by differences in vernacular between English and French-speaking children and divergences in policy between Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, was there any active interference with denominational interests. Attempts by the British Government earlier in the century to expel French Roman Catholic teaching orders had tended to exacerbate the situation by causing a dearth of educational facilities in many areas. In 1801, as the result of connivance between the imperial government and the local authorities of the Anglican Church, an Act was pushed through the Lower Canada legislature to provide machinery for subsidising primary and secondary schools of all denominations. A Royal Institute of Education was established with authority to receive and distribute grants from public funds, a large proportion of these being derived from the revenues of Crown lands.[2] Perhaps not surprisingly, the measure served merely to encourage new Roman Catholic fears of Anglican dominance. The inability of the imperial authorities to reach any effective compromise with the French Canadian community during the generation or so which followed was summed up, in unusually graphic terms, by the Durham Report of 1839:

> The continued negligence of the British Government left the mass of the people without any of the institutions which would have elevated them in freedom and civilisation. It has left them without the education and without the institutions of local self-government that would have assimilated their character and habits . . . to those of the Empire of which they form a part.[3]

As it turned out, the Durham Report, with its upshot in the grant of responsible self-government to the Union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841, was to mark the beginning of a new phase in Canadian educational development, and to provide a headline for the British Empire as a whole. In place of sporadic activities by the different denominational agencies, came a partnership between the provincial governments and local community endeavour. It became evident that the basis of the Canadian system of education was to be an undenominational neighbourhood school, supervised by the provincial authority, but operated by local communities in accordance with the needs of their own particular way of life.[4]

[2] C. E. Phillips, *The Devel. of Educ. in Canada*, Toronto 1957, pp.75-96.
[3] C. P. Lucas (ed.), *Lord Durham's Report*, Oxford 1912, II. 30-31.
[4] C. E. Phillips, pp.179-181.

British imperial administrators gave even less attention to the development of early educational institutions in Australia. Though instructions to Arthur Philip, first Captain-General of New South Wales, issued on 25 April 1787, required the setting aside of 200 acres in each township for the support of a schoolmaster, little action was taken for many years towards carrying this arrangement into effect. The first trained teacher was not sent out to New South Wales until 1809, and it was only on the appointment of the second in 1812, that the Colonial Office assumed responsibility for payment of his modest salary of £100 a year. When Lachlan Macquarie, during his term as Governor from 1810 to 1821, attempted to establish schools as part of a programme of social rehabilitation among former convicts in the territory, he met with outright opposition from officials in London; they complained that he was asking British taxpayers to produce substantial sums towards the cost of his reforms, and was teaching settler communities a dangerous measure of reliance on the imperial government. Henceforward, Macquarie concentrated his efforts on giving support to local initiative in the establishment of schools, both denominational and undenominational in form. When the growth of denominational rivalries during the middle years of the century made necessary some intervention by government in the interests of achieving a co-ordinated system of education, it was significant that the intervention came, not through any action by the imperial authorities, but through a series of Acts passed by the legislatures of the newly-formed Australian States.[5]

A broadly similar sequence of events took place in New Zealand. It was recognised, from a remarkably early stage in the settlement, that denominational educational institutions must prove wasteful in the circumstances of a small colonial community, which was at the same time representative of many different sections of British life. Nevertheless, instructions from the Colonial Office to successive Governors made clear that they must limit government intervention in education to giving encouragement and support to the work of the Churches. When Sir Edward Grey attempted to carry these instructions into effect by means of an Education Ordinance in 1847, he failed either to satisfy the financial requirements of the denominational authorities, or the educational expectations of individual colonial communities. In contrast to Canada and Australia, however, provincial authorities in New Zealand remained insufficiently powerful for many years to take over responsibility for educational development on their own account. The first steps towards

[5] C. H. Grattan (ed.), *Australia*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1947, pp.121-122.

a system of education for the territory, when they came, were taken by an Act of the central legislature in 1877 which set out to achieve, within the framework of a centralised structure of educational administration, the advantages of a system of local community schools, directed by locally-appointed officials.[6]

It was apparently only in South Africa that British imperial administrators were compelled, from the outset, to adopt a much more positive role. After the occupation of the Cape in 1806 unusually difficult problems began to present themselves in persuading the proud, independent-minded *Afrikaaner* farmers to adapt to British ideas of law and government. As part of a wider campaign to develop British institutions in the territory, Lord Charles Somerset, Governor of the Cape, attempted in 1822 to establish free English-language schools in some of the larger urban centres. Later, in 1839, it was decided to establish a Department of Education under a Superintendent-General — the first machinery for the centralised administration of education in any territory under British rule. The step was considered necessary, it would seem, because of poorly-developed local community feeling in many parts of the territory, and a growing reluctance by Afrikaaners to take part in any co-operative venture with the British Government. Some inducement to encourage their co-operation was provided—without a great deal of success — by an Education Act of 1865, which laid down elaborate arrangements for the payment of grants to schools maintained by local communities. Meanwhile, in the British Colony of Natal, where Afrikaaner influence also operated, to a proportionately lesser extent, there were parallel developments with the establishment of a Department of Education in 1859, and in 1878 of a Central Council for Education, invested with extensive powers over such matters as the appointment and certification of teachers, the payment of grants, and the direction of examinations and curricula. However, not even in the case of the South African colonies where the powers assumed by the imperial authorities over educational development were almost certainly greatest, was there any apparent attempt to lay down the lines of a distinctive educational policy, either in regard to people of British, or Afrikaaner, or indigenous stock.[7]

Some major decisions of educational policy were inescapable in British India, where the indigenous communities possessed unusually rich and deep-rooted cultural traditions in their own right. Such early

[6] A. E. Campbell, *Educating New Zealand*, Wellington 1941, pp.25-49.
[7] M. E. McKerron, *Hist. of Educ. in South Africa*, 1652-1932, Pretoria 1934, pp.18-49.

educational work as was undertaken by the British East India Company during the later years of the eighteenth century was directed towards the production of a class of higher administrative officials, and made remarkably little impact on the mass of the Indian population. There were, however, even at this stage, fundamental differences of opinion as to whether instruction should be conducted through the medium of an Oriental language or English. A long period of debate on the question was brought to a head in 1835 with the presentation of Macaulay's Minute to the East India Company's Committee of Public Instruction. It was not practicable, Macaulay decided, in the course of a frank and businesslike argument, to teach Indian students through the medium of their own mother-tongue. Since the scarcity of Oriental literature in many of the sciences made necessary the use of a foreign language, the most logical choice appeared to be English. Not only did English abound with 'works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed,' 'just and lively representations of human life and human nature', and 'the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurispurudence and trade', but it was also the language already spoken by the ruling classes in India, and likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East'.[8] There was, in Macaulay's view, little justification for encouraging the study of languages which contained few works of any significance to modern learning. 'The question now before us,' he wrote, 'is simply . . . whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse.'[9]

The acceptance of Macaulay's Minute by the Governor-General and Council of India, in a resolution of 7 March 1835, marked the beginning of a decisive new departure in British educational policy in India. On the principle that 'all funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone', it was specifically stated that no financial support should be given to students at colleges of Oriental learning, or towards the cost of printing Oriental works.[10] This policy was pressed forward with remarkable consistency during the years which followed. Proposals contained in a despatch from Sir Charles Wood to the East India Company in 1854 — sometimes called the Magna Charta of English education in India because of the compre-

[8] Sir G. O. Trevelyan (ed.), *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, London 1909, p.291.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Report of Indian University Commission*, Simla 1949, vol. 1, para.8.

hensive view which was taken — were based on the continued use of English cultural traditions. Only in his insistence that a start should be made in developing programmes of primary schooling, with intention of raising the living standards of the illiterate masses, did Wood offer some hope of concessions to Indian local culture.[11]

During the half-century or so which followed, British officials in India were made increasingly aware that their policy contained serious defects in practice. The main feature of the system of education which they had brought into being was almost certainly its top-heaviness. According to statistics published by the Government of India in 1919, the country had one of the lowest percentages of population in the world enrolled in primary schools, whilst the percentage enrolled in higher education compared not unfavourably with that in many of the more developed countries.[12] There was therefore a contrast between, on the one hand, an unusually large proportion of illiterate people, and, on the other, an educated middle-class, likely to find itself more and more isolated from the life of its own community.

The situation was still further exacerbated by a remarkably unequal participation in education among the sexes — a reflection of the traditional seclusion of women in India society. Though 5.31% of the male population was receiving formal instruction of some kind, and 10,6% was literate, the figures for the female population were respectively 1,03% and 1,0%. This neglect of women's education could hardly fail to have far-reaching implications for Indian education as a whole. 'When home education is almost unknown,' remarked a government observer, 'education in general figures as something extraneous and not as a customary adjunct of life . . . an artificial state of affairs is created. The youth does not find in his home the environment and thoughts that surround him in the class-room.'[13]

No less significant was the narrowness of the course which was ordinarily provided for the Indian student. At every level of education the emphasis was placed on literary instruction. In primary schools the effect was to ensure that very little attention was given to manual training. At the secondary level it was observed that no firm distinction

[11] *Ibid.*, para.15. Wood's Despatch also included arrangements for the establishment of examining universities on the model of London University.

[12] *Progress of Educ. in India*, 1912-1917, London 1923, vol. 1, paras.10-12. Some 2,38% of the Indian population was enrolled in primary schools (compared with 16,52% in England and Wales) and 0,486% in higher education (compared with 0,62% in England and Wales).

[13] *Ibid.*, para.14.

appeared to be drawn between English literature and English language.[14] These features could no doubt be explained, in part at least, by certain fundamental weaknesses in Indian educational practice — notably the low pay of teachers, employment of large numbers of unqualified staff and dominance of examinations — which tended to work against individual initiative in the development of new programmes of instruction. But they were equally a reflection of changed attitudes in Indian life, which had come, under British influence, to see in Western traditions of education the only possible avenue to social status and material success. Few British administrators were apparently aware of the root of the trouble. One of the outstanding exceptions, Lord Curzon, writing during his term as Viceroy at the beginning of the century, expressed deep misgivings about the effects of Macaulay's efforts to ensure the abandonment of instruction in the vernaculars: 'If the vernaculars contained no literary models, no classics, I might not be so willing to recommend them. But we all know that in them are enshrined famous treasures of literature and art, while even the secrets of modern knowledge are capable of being communicated thereby in an idiom and in phrases which will be understood by millions of people.'[15]

Curzon never succeeded in winning sufficient support to embark on the programme of sweeping reform in Indian education which was certainly close to his heart. One important principle, he did, nevertheless, manage to impress on the officials around him. Indian education must, he insisted, be related more and more to the practical needs of local community life.

Local community needs had already begun to assume a new significance in Africa, with the rapid exploration of the continent by a number of European colonial powers during the middle and later years of the nineteenth century. British opinion, in particular, was brought into much more intimate contact with the moral and humanitarian responsibilities of imperial expansion.

The Evangelical reformers, who carried through the abolition of slavery in the British Empire during 1833, had helped to point the way to wider ideals of human brotherhood and compassion. At the same time, Christian missionaries overseas, in addition to their traditional role of winning souls for Christ, had become increasingly aware of the need to initiate social and economic reform amongst the less developed peoples of the world. David Livingstone (1813-1973), labouring amongst

[14] *Ibid.*, paras.13-17.
[15] Earl of Ronaldshay, *Life of Lord Curzon*, London 1928, II. 186.

African peoples to the north of the Zambesi River, set the example of a new type of missionary, whose aim was the adaptation of Western knowledge and experience to the traditional institutions of African life. Significantly, too, Livingstone's missionary strategy was based on the revolutionary concept of producing a class of African teachers who might be expected to carry civilising influences among their own people. 'I am more and more convinced,' he said, 'that in order to (effect) the permanent settlement of the gospel in any part, the natives must be taught to relinquish their reliance on Europe.'[16]

British political leaders were also showing themselves more aware of the obligations of imperial trusteeship. As early as 1837, Gladstone observed: 'He who has made Great Britain what she is will enquire at our hands how we have employed the influence he has lent to us, in our dealings with the untutored and defenceless savage.'[17] Though these sentiments did not appear to strike any immediate response from the British ruling-classes as a whole, at least there were individuals who showed considerable concern for the interests of indigenous peoples overseas. General Gordon, as a result of his experience as administrator of the Sudan during the late 1870s, had harsh things to say about British colonisation in Africa. There was a hypocritical tendency, he observed, to demand high moral standards from African natives, whilst at the same time plundering their resources according to the traditions of their own savage code.[18] Moreover, during the last two decades of the century, a small but influential group of publicists began to propagate the idea of empire as a means of hastening the development of communities overseas. W. T. Stead, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* from 1883 to 1890, lost few opportunities to remind his countrymen of their duty to protect, pacify and civilise the 'dark-skinned races of the world':

> Everywhere authority imposed by force, especially by foreign force, upon unwilling populations, is an evil in itself, only to be tolerated because for the time it staves off still greater evils. The object of all such arbitrary dominion must be to render its existence as speedily as possible unnecessary by educating and elevating the subject races to the full control of their own destinies, the government of their own lands. Hence empires such as we have established in India, the French

[16] N. Atkinson, 'Livingstone and Educ.,' in *Livingstone*, 1873-1973, ed. B. W. Lloyd, Cape Town 1973, pp.74-79.
[17] B. M., Add. MS. 43945 (3), f. 152, C. W. Dilke, Civilisation in Africa, 1896.
[18] *Ibid.*

in Jenkin, and the Russians in Turkestan, exist but in order to dig their own graves, and that best fulfils its purpose which most rapidly renders itself superfluous.[19]

Some progress, at least, towards translating these principles into action was made by Stead's friend and literary colleague, Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, a leading member of the radical wing of the Liberal Party. The Aborigines Protection Society, which came much under Dilke's influence during the late 1860s, represented the first organised attempt to safeguard the interests of indigenous peoples in British colonies overseas. Having, during the earlier years of the century, concentrated its attention on ensuring that the provisions of the Anti-Slavery Act of 1833 were everywhere carried out in full, the Society turned, under Dilke's inspiration, to contemplating plans for social and economic reform in the colonies.[20]

Men like Stead and Dilke, however, despite their influence over British opinion, stood at some distance removed from the realities of power in the imperial system of government. The first real attempt at a thoroughgoing programme of development through the Colonial Empire as a whole was apparently the work of the distinguished imperial statesman, Lord Milner, during the years which followed the Second Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. 'The time is come,' Milner decided, 'for more serious and systematic study of the conditions with which we have to deal, and for a more highly-trained, expert administration.' Britain had reached the end of a period of merely physical expansion. Before her lay an even more challenging prospect in developing the resources and capabilities of the territories which she now possessed. No doubt these views were a reflection of the ideals of imperial unity and imperial protection already put forward by Milner's former chief at the Colonial Office, Joseph Chamberlain — ideals which at this period of his career he was known to have fervently shared. Yet it is unlikely that Milner was moved by economic considerations alone. He was aware that any comprehensive programme of colonial development must include measures for augmenting available resources of human ability: 'the first plant of civilisation . . . is immensely costly in these new countries, and yet it is no use being miserly about it.[21] Whether from practical or idealistic motives, it seemed, there were already good reasons why

[19] F. Whyte, *Life of W. T. Stead*, London 1925, p.324.

[20] The Aborigines Protection Society was founded in 1838, largely as the result of a motion by Sir T. Fowell Buxton calling for a committee of the House of Commons to examine conditions of apprenticeship among former slaves in the Colonies.

[21] Viscount Milner, *The Nation and the Empire*, London 1913, pp.466-468.

British ministers should begin to take a closer interest in educational progress in the overseas territories committed to their care.

**The Imperial Education Conferences**

Other developments were, in any case, tending to promote a closer relationship between educationists in the United Kingdom and other British territories overseas. A conference convened at London by the League of the Empire[22] during 1907 was memorable as being the first occasion on which representatives of educational services in most of the self-governing and dependent territories of the Empire came together for deliberation on matters of common concern. As a first step towards educational co-operation between the territories it was urged that annual reports and other documents should be exchanged on a regular basis. This, however, represented the limits to which the conference could go in the absence of formal approval from government. It was unanimously resolved that future education conferences could most appropriately meet under the authority of the imperial government itself.[23]

A decision by the British Government to summon the first Imperial Education Conference to London during the spring of 1911 seemed to indicate, therefore, an intention to assume a larger measure of responsibility for the co-ordination of educational policy throughout the Empire as a whole. There were altogether forty-seven delegates, nominated by Education Departments in all the Dominions and major Colonies. The first business was to consider practical steps which might be taken to encourage co-operation in matters of immediate importance — mutual recognition of teacher's certificates, the recruitment of candidates for appointments overseas, and the wider distribution of information concerning opportunities in higher education.[24] However, later discussions moved to more long-term arrangements for co-ordinating educational policy in various parts of the Empire. It was agreed that the United Kingdom's Office of Special Inquiries and Reports should be asked to undertake a much greater variety of functions on behalf of overseas countries;[25] that Education Department officials should not only make available regular published material on developments in their areas, but

[22] The League of the Empire was founded in 1901 by Mrs Ord Marshall as a voluntary society aiming at the encouragement of educational co-operation between the United Kingdom and the countries of the Empire.
[23] Cd. 5666, *Report of Imp. Educ. Conf.*, 1911, p.4.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp.8-9.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp.14-15.

should work towards the achievement of standardised presentation and definition of technical terms;[26] that, as a means of providing continuity between the meetings of successive Imperial Education Conferences, a permanent committee should be set up in London, consisting of the agents of the various overseas governments, together with representatives of a number of United Kingdom government departments.[27]

As it happened, the establishment of the London committee was the only part of these proposals to be carried into effect during the years which followed. With the onset of the First World War in 1914, it was found necessary to postpone further attempts to disseminate information on education throughout the Empire. Nevertheless, the war also had the effect of encouraging a deeper appreciation of many aspects of educational development overseas. The direct involvement of many Dominion and Colonial peoples forced imperial administrators to take much greater account of the problems of territories in various parts of the Empire. When the Duke of York, in opening the second Imperial Education Conference in 1923, declared that 'events conspire to make us all imperialists today', he was not thinking in terms of any new attempt at territorial aggrandisement; rather did he imply that the sense of imperial responsibility which Stead and Dilke had preached at the end of the nineteenth century now carried a much greater urgency of meaning than ever before.[28]

Views expressed during the discussions which followed were significant not only as showing a more determined approach to the problems of educational development, but also as indicating an awareness of approaching changes in the imperial relationship itself. One Australian delegate (W. T. McCoy), reflecting to some extent the anxiety of his own government to retain close ties with the United Kingdom, renewed the demand for more effective collection of information on education throughout the Empire. In a substantial advance on pre-war aims, he put forward a scheme for a Bureau of Education, competent not merely to provide a service of information, but to undertake such functions as the publication of a year-book, and the co-ordination of arrangements for the appointment and exchange of teachers.[29] A suggestion of a different kind came from a South African delegate (G. M. Hofmeyr) for the establishment of independent bureaux of inquiry in each of the independent Dominions of Canada, Australia and South Africa.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp.16-18.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp.13-14.
[28] *Report of Imp. Educ. Conf.*, 1923, p.11.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp.225-226.

Though by no means opposed to the establishment of an imperial bureau in due course, Hofmeyr was anxious to ensure that it should come as the natural evolution of the work of national bureaux in the several countries of the Commonwealth, and not as the result of deliberate imperial policy enforced from above.[30] In taking up this position, he was merely giving expression to the ideas of imperial devolution which Canadian and South African statesmen were already putting forward at successive Commonwealth gatherings.[31]

Hofmeyr's proposal met with the approval of a large majority of delegates, and came to provide a framework for the development of various schemes of international co-operation in education during the years which followed. The circumstances of the time, in which several Dominion governments were engaged in a struggle for constitutional independence which was destined to culminate in acceptance of the principles of the Balfour Report by the Imperial Conference of 1926,[32] certainly favoured a movement towards decentralisation in imperial institutions. Of more immediate importance, however, was a decision by the British Government—announced towards the end of the Imperial Education Conference of 1923—to establish a Colonial Office Advisory Committee, responsible for making a general overview of educational organisation in the dependent territories of the empire. The British Advisory Committee, it seemed, might become the first of a series of bureaux, organised along just the kind of lines which Hofmeyr had in mind.

[30] *Ibid.*, p.229.

[31] The claims to self-determination within the Commonwealth, put forward by leaders of Canada and South Africa at successive Imperial Conferences in 1917, 1921, 1923 and 1926, were no doubt stimulated by the special circumstances of both these states, in which British and non-British communities lived side by side, and in which it was urgently necessary to develop a spirit of national unity. Australian and New Zealand leaders, by contrast, still hoped for a more centralised system of imperial control, as a means of ensuring continued British influence in the Far East. See D. W. Harkness, *The Restless Dominion*, London 1969, pp.1-12.

[32] The Report of an Inter-Imperial Relations Committee to the Imperial Conference of 1926 confirmed the position of the Dominions as 'autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.' See A. B. Keith, *Speeches and Documents on the British Dominions*, 1918-1931, London 1948, p.161. The principles laid down in the Report were subsequently embodied in the Statute of Westminster, passed in 1931 (22 *Geo.* 5, *Ch.*4).

Another major topic, much discussed by the Conference of 1923, concerned methods of encouraging the exchange of teachers. Since 1919 the League of the Empire had arranged unofficial exchanges of teachers between the United Kingdom and territories overseas. However, no support or guidance had been provided by any of the governments concerned. It was the unanimous opinion of the Conference that this situation should not be allowed to continue, and that Education Departments should in future assume the chief share of responsibility for arranging exchanges. Moreover, it was recognised that serious problems remained to be resolved in laying down principles for the payment of salary and the preservation of pension rights. Short-term exchanges were not thought to present considerable difficulty, since responsibility for the teacher's remuneration was likely to remain with the country of origin. Yet the case of teachers who migrated from one territory to another was an altogether different matter. How, it was asked, could a common pension scheme be devised to cover service in any part of the Empire? What arrangements could be made to ensure that overseas service was reckoned as counting towards increments on the salary scales in England and Wales? Under what conditions could there be a general acceptance of teachers' certificates awarded in different countries?[33]

These questions, which were to cause a great deal of perplexity to Commonwealth educationists and administrators for many years to follow, did not yield easily to solution at this early stage. On the first two, at least, the Conference found it impossible to make any concrete suggestion, since there had been little opportunity to consider a wide variety of conditions in different territories. Even on the question of teachers' certificates, it was accepted that local circumstances must always impose a need for exceptional arrangements of various kinds. However, a start was made towards the recognition of a common standard of qualifications with the suggestion that each Education Department should give the status of a certified elementary school teacher to those who had either completed a one-year course of training after full secondary education to the age of 18, or a two-year course of training after a rather shorter period of secondary schooling.[34]

Despite the difficulties, a small but steadily growing stream of teachers from the United Kingdom went overseas on exchange schemes of one kind or another during the years which followed. The benefits were

[33] *Report of Imp. Educ. Conf.*, 1923, pp.288-291.
[34] *Ibid.*, p.291.

certainly very considerable on a personal level, in terms of the wider educational horizons which travel could bring. Yet, as the Prince of Wales pointed out, in his opening speech to the third Imperial Education Conference in 1927, there were other, even more significant considerations in the development of a common sense of identification with the aims and aspirations of people in different parts of the Commonwealth. 'The Empire,' he declared, 'will not remain . . . a splash of red upon a world map, but will be seen as a living community of men and women united by a common loyalty in a common service.'[35] It seemed that through the growth of co-operation and understanding between teachers in many different Commonwealth countries, might come a much more co-ordinated attempt to meet the educational needs of peoples in a wide variety of stages of economic and social development.

The possibilities of teacher exchange came to dominate the proceedings of the Imperial Education Conference of 1927. Papers presented to a special committee of the Conference examined the matter from many contrasting angles. Though it was agreed that some significant progress had been made since the deliberations of the Conference of 1923, a number of vexatious difficulties were seen to require careful attention in the future: lack of adequate publicity in some parts of the United Kingdom and the Dominions; delays in completing arrangements by the teachers and school authorities involved; different dates of school terms; a failure on the part of many teachers to take full advantage of opportunities to get to know the societies in which they had come to work; most serious of all, perhaps, the fact that exchange was invariably limited, with rare exceptions, to women teachers in elementary schools, since the obstacles were too great for teachers in other kinds of institutions. After considering a variety of schemes for financial assistance, including an offer of grants-in-aid of travelling expenses by the Empire Marketing Board, the Conference came round to the view that there must be a much more active participation by government agencies, both in the United Kingdom and overseas.[36]

Difficulties concerning pension rights had already received sympathetic consideration by the British Government during the years which followed the Conference of 1923. An Act of the Imperial Parliament, passed in 1925, empowered the Board of Education, with the consent

[35] *Report of Imp. Educ. Conf.*, 1927, p.101. During the period from 1924 to 1927, 218 teachers from England and Wales, and 43 from Scotland, went to serve in the Dominions, whilst a comparable number of Dominion teachers came to the United Kingdom.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp.9-12.

of the Treasury, to give recognition to membership of statutory superannuation schemes in other parts of the Empire in lieu of contributions to the scheme in operation for England and Wales.[37] Similar arrangements for Scotland followed soon afterwards.[38] Though these measures did not in themselves provide any solutions to the problems of transferring pension rights, at least they gave legislative authority to any arrangements which United Kingdom officials might be able to make with their opposite numbers overseas. For this reason alone, they were greeted with warm approval by the Imperial Education Conference of 1927. It was, as the President of the Board of Education (Lord Eustace Percy) reminded delegates, not so much a matter of dealing with a general professional grievance—since relatively small numbers of teachers were involved—as of remedying a situation in which very severe hardship was caused to a few.[39] There were clearly good reasons why, in the special circumstances of a teacher's profession, he should not be required to risk his normal expectation of security in old age by reason of service in the Empire overseas. Delegates were, indeed, unable to offer any new suggestions of their own to supplement the measures taken by the British Government; yet they were understandably anxious to ensure that every possible avenue was explored to make the most effective use of the new arrangements. The Board of Education was urged to make formal approaches to other governments in the Empire, drawing their attention to the advantages of negotiating reciprocal benefits.[40] On the no less difficult matter of mutual recognition of teachers' qualifications, resolutions called merely for a further simplification of standards throughout the Empire.[41] There were, it seemed, recognisable limits to the progress which could be achieved by any gathering of officials and professional experts in working out the lines of future educational co-operation in the Commonwealth. The success of any arrangements they might happen to make would depend, in the last resort, on the extent to which political leaders could agree on the first priorities in educational strategy during the years to follow.

**Education for Local Development; Lugard and Guggisberg; Activities of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee for Africa**

Educational facilities in the British Colonial Empire during the early

[37] 15 *and* 16 *Geo.* 5, *Ch.* 59, sec. 21.
[38] 15 *and* 16 *Geo.* 5, *Ch.* 55, sec. 4...
[39] *Report of Imp. Educ. Conf.*, 1927, p.13.
[40] *Ibid.*, p.16.
[41] *Ibid.*, p.17.

years of the twentieth century were remarkable as a faint and uncoordinated attempt to grapple with problems of almost every conceivable kind. The existence of difficulty was at least one factor which every territory shared in common. A perusal of Colonial Reports reveals an almost uniformly desolate picture: 'the work in the country schools . . . practically brought to an end by the destruction (of a hurricane) (St. Vincent)';[42] 'no impression . . . made on the parents . . . sufficient to induce them to strive to obtain for the children the teaching which they greatly lack (Sierra Leone)',[43] 'the absence of any help, stimulus or encouragement at home, so that the setting of home lessons becomes useless (Bahamas)';[44] 'the vast majority of pupils in the English-speaking schools never hear a word of that language at home . . . the language of the playground, and of the lowest classes . . . is Malay, and Malay of a very low and elementary type (Straits Settlements)';[45] 'dishonesty and immorality among the male teachers (Jamaica)';[46] 'fluctuating . . . results . . . only by the introduction of new forces into our educational machinery can we escape this non-progressive condition (Lagos)'.[47]

The effect of these difficulties was everywhere made worse by a shortage of funds. As yet, there was no indication that imperial administrators were prepared to consider any large-scale investment in educational development. Indeed, in the British Caribbean territories at the turn of the century, a substantial cut was made in the grants to education, as part of a programme of economic retrenchment.[48] Even more serious than financial limitations was the absence of any co-ordinated direction from above. The British Colonial Office lacked any machinery for arranging educational co-operation between the different territories, and any facilities for educational research, apart from a rather irregular collation of information by the Board of Education's Office of Special Inquiries and Reports. Each individual British territory was responsible, in effect, for devising its own educational policy, in the light of its own particular needs. There was, so far, little opportunity to lay down principles of educational development for the Colonial Empire as a whole.

[42] Cd. 3-4, Col. Report No. 281, *St. Vincent*, 1898, p.13.
[43] Cd. 354-5, Col. Report No. 299, *Sierra Leone*, 1899, p.13.
[44] Cd. 431-19, Col. Report No. 327, *Bahamas*, 1900, p.27.
[45] Cd. 354-10, Col. Report No. 304, *Straits Settlements*, 1899, p.18.
[46] Cd. 431-9, Col. Report No. 317, *Jamaica*, 1899-1900, pp.39.-40
[47] Cd. 431-13, Col. Report No. 321, *Lagos*, 1899, p.18.
[48] Cd. 431-2, Col. Report No. 310, *Brit. Honduras*, 1899, p.19 and Cd. 431-9, Col. Report No. 317, *Jamaica*, 1899-1900, pp.39-40.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the first attempts to achieve such principles came from the local officials themselves. Moreover, it was in Africa, where the range and complexity of educational problems presented the greatest challenge to British administrators, that the germs of a British colonial education policy began at last to take shape. Writing shortly after the First World War, with a lifetime of distinguished service in the Colonies already behind him, Lord Lugard (1858-1945) summed up the nature of the responsibilities which faced Britain on the African continent: 'As Roman imperialism laid the foundations of modern civilisation, and led the wild barbarians of these islands along the path of progress, so in Africa today we are repaying the debt, and bringing to the dark places of the earth, the abode of barbarism and cruelty, the torch of culture and progress, while ministering to the material needs of our own civilisation.'[49] The principle of the 'Dual Mandate', on which Lugard's ideas were based, rested on a belief that it was in the long-term economic and strategic interests of an imperial power to ensure the greatest possible measure of development of the native peoples committed to her rule. He was, indeed, realistic enough to admit that British capital and experience could not be drawn to Africa by philanthropic or even patriotic motives alone. Yet he believed it was essential to make sure that the profits gained by private enterprise should be used to promote the extension of civilising influences of every kind.

Though Lugard's Dual Mandate did not provide any ready-made answers to the problems of colonial development, at least it pointed the way for a new direction in British imperial policy during the years which followed. A White Paper on Kenya, published during 1923, contained this significant elaboration of Lugard's thinking: 'Primarily Kenya is an African country, and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African native must be paramount, *and that if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail.*'[50] Since the principles adopted in Kenya must logically be applied to other parts of British Africa as well, it was evident that British colonial policy was henceforward committed to raising the

[49] Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate*, London 1922, p. 618. After service as a soldier in India, Burma and East Africa, Lugard began his career as an administrator when he was sent to Nigeria by the Royal Niger Company in 1894. As High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria, from 1900 to 1906, he inaugurated the policy of 'indirect rule' through African chiefs which, though intended to strengthen native tradition, aroused much opposition from African political leaders.

[50] Cmd. 1922, *Memo. on Indians in Kenya*, 1923, p.10.

living standards of native communities, no matter what other interests were involved. Indeed, the same White Paper went on to speak of British administrators in Kenya as exercising a *trust* on behalf of the African population, which could not be delegated or shared in any way:

> The lines of development are as yet in certain directions undetermined, and many difficult problems arise which require time for their solution. But there can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level than that which they had reached when the Crown assumed responsibility for the administration of this territory.[51]

Lugard had little to say about the ultimate objectives of African development, or its impact on the British imperial system as a whole. Yet the logical outcome of his argument was by no means difficult to foresee; it implied that African communities would, sooner or later, be enabled to take over responsibility for the government of their own affairs. That the point was already fully appreciated by British administrators is evident from the words of a further White Paper, published several years later:

> The Dual policy in regard to economic development should have its counterpart in the political evolution of the territories. Every year we are providing more educational facilities for the natives, and although in some places it may be many years before the native can take a direct part in the central Legislatures, his place in the body politic must be provided for, and steps taken to create the machinery whereby native self-government, at first purely local, and later over larger areas, can be developed.[52]

In setting out his ideas on the content of African education, Lugard had certainly both long-term and short-term considerations in view. He was not only concerned with the need to achieve an immediate improvement in the living standards of African peoples. Education, he believed, must enable them to adapt the best elements in their own ancient cultures to the conditions of life in the modern world. This required the evolution of a many-sided education policy, capable of providing for the development of many different sections of African society at the same time:

> It should train a generation able to achieve ideals of its own, without a slavish imitation of Europeans, capable and willing to

[51] *Ibid.*, p.10.
[52] Cmd. 2904, *Future Policy in Eastern Africa*, 1927, p.5.

assume its own definite sphere of public and civic work, and to shape its own future. The education afforded to that section of the population who intend to lead the lives which their forefathers led should enlarge their outlook, increase their efficiency and standard of comfort, and bring them into closer sympathy with the Government, instead of making them unsuited to and ill-contented with their mode of life. It should produce a new generation of native chiefs of higher integrity, a truer sense of justice, and appreciation of responsibility for the welfare of the community. As regards that smaller section who desire to take part in public or municipal duties, or to enter the service of Government or of commercial firms, education should make them efficient, loyal, reliable and contented — a race of self-respecting native gentlemen. Finally the policy should popularise education, should extend it to the ignorant masses instead of confining it to the few, and should increase the output of youths well-qualified to meet the demand, whether clerical, professional or industrial.[53]

The overriding consideration must always be, in Lugard's opinion, the formation of *character* — a process which required the teaching of many Western concepts hitherto unknown to the African mind. Such qualities as thrift, ambition and initiative were, he considered, as alien to the life of an African village as a foreign tongue, and were not apparently denoted by any words in an African language. Character-formation must therefore be achieved mainly through the work of schools, and more by influence and example than by precept. Not surprisingly, the institution which he most favoured for his purpose was a residential school, supervised by adequate numbers of British expatriate staff, and providing the same emphasis on religious and moral instruction as was found in the British Public Schools of his day.[54]

Within this framework, however, there was to be a curriculum specially suited to the needs of African society. Looking back disapprovingly on the effects of an over-zealous encouragement of academic education in nineteenth-century India, Lugard decided that the main criterion for deciding the work of African schools must be the practical needs of pupils in their future careers, whether they intended to be clerks or artisans, or simply follow the traditional occupations of village life. The school structure which he had in mind was essentially pyramidal in form, moving up from village craft schools to central industrial schools and secondary schools, the latter eventually equipped to offer prepara-

[53] Lord Lugard, p.426.
[54] *Ibid.*, pp.431-437.

tion for entry to a University of West Africa. The provision of a university was an essential feature of Lugard's design, since it would have enabled African youths to receive higher professional training within the influence of their own native society, rather than at an institution away in England.[55] No less consistent was his intention to extend educational opportunities to women, on the grounds that 'the immense value to the educated youth of Africa of having wives who can share their thoughts and sympathise in and understand their work, is only less important than the influence which the mother should exert in forming the character of her children.'[56]

If Lugard's Dual Mandate was remarkable chiefly as the product of a vigorous and inquiring mind, anxiously seeking to establish general guidelines for the solution of problems in various parts of the Colonial Empire, he did not stand alone in his views. Broadly similar conclusions were reached by one of his close contemporaries, Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, who was Governor of the Gold Coast from 1919 until his death in 1927. A Canadian, of East European Jewish ancestry, Guggisberg showed a flair for getting to grips with the realities of life in his territory, which was not often equalled by colonial administrators of his day. To a greater extent than Luggard, he was concerned with the problem of producing a responsible and capable leadership class, in a setting where British influence had already been in operation for more than a century before. 'History', he noted, in an unusually candid appreciation of the limitations of imperial tutelage, 'records no single instance of a nation finally achieving greatness—attaining a permanent independent position in the world—under leaders in thought, industries and the professions of an entirely different race.'[57] Moreover, whilst Lugard was largely concerned with laying down general lines of principle, Gubbisberg went to considerable pains to develop and prove his ideas by everyday contacts with the African world around him. Education was given the foremost place in a whirlwind programme of social reform which marked his short but memorable period of office in the Gold Coast. Every educational level, from the village schools to the teacher-training colleges, was subjected to deep and relentless scrutiny. It was necessary, he believed, to make a new beginning, so that educational facilities could be more aligned to the needs of the society which they were required to serve. Yet it was almost certainly through his association with Achimota, the secondary school which he founded in 1923, that Guggisberg

[55] *Ibid.*, pp.442-456.
[56] *Ibid.*, p.457.
[57] F. G. Guggisberg, *The Keystone*, London 1924, pp.13-14.

approached nearest to the problems of educational development in Africa. Achimota appeared to him as a microcosm of the changing West African society, in which the need for new and more relevant programmes of formal instruction called out for urgent attention.[58]

In common with Lugard, Guggisberg believed that character-training should be the base of the whole educational process. 'Leave character-training out of our educational system,' he decided, 'and the progress of the African races will inevitably become a series of stumbles and falls that will leave a permanent mark on them if it does not stop their advance altogether.'[59] Like Lugard, too, he believed that training must be by precept, and not simply from knowledge derived from books. And, like Lugard again, he had a particularly high regard for residential schools, with their special opportunities for social relationships of many kinds. Nevertheless, his assessment of the underlying difficulties to be overcome went deeper than Lugard had apparently at any time found possible. He was aware that African pupils who had mastered the social and intellectual requirements of Western education might not necessarily possess those rather indefinite qualities which constitute character: 'Their old sanctions have been destroyed by the meeting of African and Western civilisation, and new sanctions must take their place if education is to be more than learning by rote.' Indeed, for two or three generations to come, the majority of parents were likely to remain uneducated, and hence a potential obstacle to whatever influences were implanted at school.[60] In this, it would seem, Guggisberg was doing no less than striking at the central problem of educational organisation in any developing country. Unless it were possible to establish a large measure of identification between the educative influences of the home and of the school, pupils must always run the risk of lacking any sure foundation in either the old or the new cultural traditions. As it happened, Guggisberg was not in any position to make much progress with the development of a school curriculum specially adapted to the needs and aspirations of African life. Practical difficulties—notably an absence of suitable text-books and a shortage of African teachers—effectively barred his way. Yet this was the ultimate purpose behind all his reforms of educational organisation in the Gold Coast.

[58] See A. G. Fraser, 'Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg,' in *Oversea Education*, 1. 4 (July 1930), pp.117-118.
[59] F. G. Guggisberg, p.13.
[60] F. G. Guggisberg, *The Future of the Negro*, London 1929, pp.90-92.

The vernacular must, he considered, become the main medium of instruction. It should be used exclusively in primary schools, though in secondary schools the partial use of a European language might sometimes be found necessary. Even this need not, however, mean any damage to African culture, provided that an adequate mastery of the European language had been laid down at the primary school level. Indeed, Guggisberg was anxious to move towards a form of bilinguilism in which proficiency in a foreign language did not mean any interference with the cultural heritage of the home.[61]

The production of good African teachers formed an essential feature of Guggisberg's design. Though aware that European teachers must be employed in secondary schools for a long time to come, he hoped to have them progressively replaced by Africans as soon as the latter reached a suitable educational standard. Teacher education must therefore assume a much greater importance than in more developed countries. Moreover, there must be an improvement in the general standing of the profession, so as to attract the best candidates possible. This was to be done not only through the payment of higher salaries, but, rather significantly, by breaking down the barriers which separated teachers with different levels of training.[62] Guggisberg was, in fact, attempting to create an egalitarian teaching profession, capable of exerting a powerful influence for good at every level of society in a developing country. Since, like Lugard, he showed a keen appreciation of the advantages of providing education for women, it is not surprising that he should have made plans for training women teachers of secondary school classes through special courses at Achimota.[63]

Another necessary feature of Guggisberg's policy was the provision of facilities for all types of secondary and higher education on Gold Coast soil. 'We shall never succeed,' he decided, 'if the sole place in which the African can get his higher education and his professional training is Europe. Much learning, and of the best, he can get there; character-training, none!'[64] There were certainly important advantages, in both social and educational terms, in attempting to bridge the educational gap which threatened to cut off the African student from large sections of his own people. And there was clearly a need for

[61] *Ibid.*, p.86.
[62] *Ibid.*, pp.87-88.
[63] F. G. Guggisberg, *The Keystone*, pp.38-41. Plans for training women teachers at Achimota had to be abandoned because of African disapproval.
[64] *Ibid.*, pp.15-16.

greater opportunities for research and experiment, if a new kind of school curriculum was to be brought into being.

The need for research and experiment weighed with much heaviness on Guggisberg's mind, since he was more than usually aware of the speed of change on the African continent. 'We are going too slow,' he complained: 'although it is perfectly true that the races of the Gold Coast are now in a phase through which every other race has had to pass since time immemorial, yet every century sees a quicker rate of advance made by the primitive peoples of the world.' It was not enough to attempt to draw wisdom from the lessons of past experience, since that experience might very soon be out of date.[65] His school at Achimota was intended to fulfil the functions of an experimental institution, capable of providing a model which might be followed in other African territories. With this end in view, it was permitted to achieve a large measure of independence from government influence, and, indeed, to develop much of the academic *esprit de corps* which only a university normally enjoys.[66]

These ideas on educational development—presented in general terms by Lord Lugard's *Dual Mandate*, and in more direct relation to particular problems by Sir Frederick Guiggisberg—really formed part of a much wider movement of heart-searching and renewal amongst British Colonial administrators during the years which followed the end of the First World War. In central Africa, H. S. Keigwin, through the industrial schools which he established for the Southern Rhodesian Government at Domboshawa and Tjolotjo in 1921, endeavoured to lay the foundations of an education policy which would emphasise the advancement of African communities as a whole, rather than the creation of a narrow-based élite.[67] In East Africa, where British influence was of comparatively recent growth, the Kenya Education Ordinance of 1924 marked the beginning of a much closer measure of intervention by government in African education. Moreover, the two reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commission—for West, South and Equitorial Africa in 1920-1, and East, Central and South Africa in 1924—provided the first general review of the likely priorities of future educational development, over a wide variety of territories in British Africa. In expressing their concern at the piecemeal transplantation of

[65] *Ibid.*, p.11.
[66] F. G. Guggisberg, *The Future of the Negro*, pp. 95-99. See also A. V. Murray, 'Achimota College,' in *Oversea Education*, IV. 2 (January 1933), pp.62-68.
[67] N. Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians*, London 1972, pp.97-102.

European and North American ideas on education to an African environment, the Commissioners offered ample confirmation of Guggisberg's arguments in favour of experiment and research:

> The adaptation of education to the needs of the people is urged as the first requisite of school activities. Much of the indifference, even opposition to education in Africa is due to failure to adapt school work to African conditions. School methods now being discarded in Europe and America are still too frequently found. It is little wonder that those who have seen the failures of unrelated education in the home countries should question the application of similar methods under the pioneer conditions of colonial Africa . . . Many of the failures of educational systems in the past have been due to lack of organisation and supervision. Governments and missions have not applied to their educational work the sound principles of administration which are increasingly recognised in their undertakings of importance. This is partly explained by the failure to appreciate the importance of education, and partly by the fact that those responsible for educational and religious movements have so often failed to understand the necessity of organisation and supervision.[68]

As it happened, British imperial administrators had already taken steps to meet the 'lack of organisation and supervision' in their African colonies. It would have been difficult to resist the cumulative effect of advice from many experienced officials in the field. Moreover, since the conclusion of the First World War, Britain had undertaken new responsibilities in fulfilling the duties of League of Nations Trusteeship in a number of former German colonial territories. These responsibilities did not, it would seem, introduce any principles not already accepted in the British Colonial Empire—a point which British officials themselves were most anxious to make clear.[69] Yet they directed the attention of the world, in a manner not previous realised, towards the morality of colonial systems, and the obligation of colonial rulers to ensure the social and economic development of the peoples committed to their care. Finally, there was pressure from the missionaries, who still

[68] L. J. Lewis (ed.). *Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa*, London 1962, p.10. The reports represented the fulfilment of a long-standing desire on the part of certain missionary societies in the United States to make a thorough survey of educational development in African territories. The full expense of the survey was borne by the Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, under the terms of a decision taken during November 1919, and the chairman of the Commission was the Fund's educational director, Dr Thomas Jesse Jones.

[69] Cmd. 3628, *Col. Office Conf.*, 1930: *Summary of Proceedings*, p.9.

carried by far the heaviest share of the burden of education in the majority of colonial territories. A conference held at the Colonial Office, on 6 June 1923, to consider a memorandum from the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, agreed that there was need for much closer co-operation between missionaries and colonial officials; with this end in view, it was decided to establish a permanent Educational Advisory Committee for Africa at the Colonial Office.[70]

The Committee was composed, partly of certain Colonial officials sitting *ex-officio*, partly of persons with expert knowledge in various fields, who were nominated by the Secretary of State. In addition, the occasional presence of one or other of the Governors of African Colonies home on leave added an element of personal contact with each of the territories concerned. The functions which the members were called upon to perform indicated that problems of colonial education were about to receive much more exhaustive scrutiny than had ever before been contemplated. They were asked to provide the Colonial Secretary with information not only on British Colonies in Africa, but also concerning developing communities in various parts of the world; to advise colonial administrators and missionaries on a variety of matters; to assist in the recruitment of staff for colonial colleges and schools; to contribute to the formulation of an education policy specially suited to the conditions of African life; to explore possible ways of ensuring a more harmonious and effective relationship between government and private agencies of education; to provide machinery for consultation with other states whenever this might help to achieve a common approach to educational problems in Africa.[71]

Some of the most effective work of the African Advisory Committee was carried out informally by means of discussions with officials at various levels. One of the most important results was to show that it

[70] Cmd. 2884, *Proceedings of Col. Office Conf.*, 1927, pp.209-214. Commenting two years later on the effects of League of Nations trusteeship in Uganda and Tanganyika, the Hilton-Young Commission pointed out that Africans everywhere must unavoidably become accustomed to the standards of a government policy which was frankly committed to putting their interests first: 'Proceedings have already been started which cannot be stopped and which must inevitably lead to a stage when the native peoples will demand some voice in the management of their own affairs. Wise statesmanship must therefore prepare to lead the natives on a course of steady mental and moral advancement, so that when they realise their power they may be properly qualified to use it.' Cmd. 3234, *Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa*, p.36.

[71] Cmd. 2884, *Proceedings of Col. Office Conf.*, 1927, pp.209-214.

was possible to achieve a considerable measure of uniformity in the approach to educational problems in different countries. Indeed, members of the Committee became increasingly aware of the need to lay down a series of general principles, capable of providing a basis for the work of educational development through the African colonies as a whole. It was with this purpose in mind that they produced, during 1925, a notable memorandum on *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*. The memorandum was shortly afterwards circulated, by authority of the Secretary of State, among all British governors in Africa, and came to provide the first general synthesis of the aims and aspirations of British colonial education policy, so far published.[72]

Very little of the contents was new, and a large part merely reiterated the views expressed by Lugard and Guggisberg a year or two earlier. There could be no question of laying down any directives, since the responsibilities of the Committee were advisory only in nature. In any case, it would have been a matter of considerable difficulty to enforce conformity in each of the territories concerned; the British Colonial Empire had an essentially decentralised structure. All that could be attempted was a series of general guide-lines, open to such individual interpretation as local needs might require. Yet even this, in itself, was significant, as indicating the commencement of a new phase in British imperial strategy. It was intended to encourage the development of a wide variety of educational institutions, designed to meet the needs of particular African communities:

> Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life, adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race.[73]

A balance must be struck between the task of raising the living standards of the mass of the people at large, and the need to provide

[72] *Ibid.*, pp.214-215.
[73] Cmd. 2374, *Education Policy in Brit. Trop. Africa*, 1925, p.4.

appropriate training for those destined for positions of responsibility in social and economic life. Since the nature of the balance must obviously vary considerably according to the circumstances of each individual territory, the Committee avoided any attempt to lay down hard and fast rules concerning the priorities to be achieved. Territorial administrators were left free to decide the pace at which they would move, and the manner in which they would provide for the emergence of an educated African élite. Only the ultimate objective must be placed beyond dispute, on the principle that 'the door of advancement must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education'.[74]

Perhaps not surprisingly—in the light of the views which had been previously expressed by Lugard and Guggisberg—character-training and religious instruction were given a central place in the African school curriculum. In complete consistency with Guggisberg's insistence on working through indigenous culture, it was affirmed that character-training must be related to the background and living conditions of the African pupils concerned. By this means, it was hoped, there would not be any drastic disruption of African society, through premature association with the Western way of life.[75]

Support was also given to Guiggisberg's plea for research and experiment, though the Committee did not go so far as to recommend further experimental institutions on the model of Achimota. In rather less ambitious terms, it called for greater efforts in the production of African text-books. African teaching professions should, it was considered, be improved in both numbers and qualifications, and should include women. Teachers for village schools should be educated under rural conditions, or at any rate should be brought into intimate contact with them at regular intervals.[76]

Having, thus far, given unqualified support to the policies put forward by Lugard and Guggisberg, the memorandum went on to make a number of practical suggestions for ensuring greater efficiency and control. There should be in-service training of teachers, perhaps every five years; any consequent reduction in available man-hours would almost certainly be compensated by an improvement in professional standards. Visiting teachers — perhaps on the lines of the Jeanes Teachers already operating in eastern and central Africa[77] — should

[74] *Ibid.*, p.4.
[75] *Ibid.*, p.4.
[76] *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
[77] For a description of the origins of the Jeanes Teachers see p. 104.

be sent round schools with advice and suggestions of various kinds. Government and missionary authorities should co-operate in providing adequate machinery for the inspection and supervision of all teachers. Efforts should be made to encourage interest in vocational and technical training, on the grounds that it provided an opening to careers no less honourable than those in clerical employment.[78] Finally, on the principle that 'success . . . must depend largely on the outlook of those who control policy and on their capacity and enthusiasm', it was urged that steps should be taken to maintain high standards of service in overseas Education Departments, and, in particular, to ensure that officials recruited from the United Kingdom were not penalised through the loss of superannuation benefits or other advantages.[79]

No doubt the memorandum on *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa* was open to criticism for leaving many fundamental issues unresolved. It had remarkably little to say, for example, on the organisation of research into African curricula, the relationship to be maintained between courses for African and non-African pupils, and possible ways of sharing staff and experience between the United Kingdom and other territories. These and other considerations were likely to exert an increasingly important influence over the development of imperial education policy as time went on. Nevertheless, as a declaration of intent regarding future British policy towards developing communities overseas, the memorandum must be seen as one of the most significant documents in recent colonial history. It made clear that the efforts of British colonial administrators would henceforth be geared, not to the extension of Western influences in an African environment, but to the adaptation of traditional African culture to meet the demands of life in the contemporary world. Such a policy clearly demanded remarkable qualities of humanity and imagination from the administrators who were to carry it into effect. It was essential to win the co-operation of local communities in the design of any educational institutions intended for their own particular advancement. For, otherwise, it would be all too easy to be led into a series of dangerously false assumptions concerning the character of the African way of life.

**The Advisory Committee Re-Constituted to Serve the Colonial Empire as a Whole; Sir Percy Nunn and the Education of Teachers for the Empire**

So far, the activities of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee had

[78] Cmd. 2374, *Education Policy in Brit. Trop. Africa*, p.7.
[79] *Ibid.*, p.5.

been confined to the service of African education alone. Questions could reasonably be expected as to whether the Committee's terms of reference should be continued in their existing form, or whether it might prove practicable to ask them to take cognisance of educational development in other parts of the Empire as well. A conference of Colonial Office officials, meeting during 1927, gave careful attention to possible lines of future re-organisation in educational administration. It was recommended that the Committee should be re-constituted as the Colonial Advisory Education Council; that the Council should function in two Committees, dealing respectively with Tropical Africa and other territories in the British Empire; and that the staff should be headed by a principal officer, responsible for keeping permanent contact between educational institutions in the United Kingdom and the overseas territories, and for editing a regular bulletin.[80]

The general principles of the scheme proved acceptable to the British Government, already keenly aware of the need for a more rapid advance in the provision of educational facilities for the colonies. After some deliberation, it was decided to dissolve the African Advisory Committee, and to replace it by an alternative body from 1 January 1929. There were, indeed, certain departures from the arrangements suggested by the Colonial Office conference of 1927. It was considered that the organisation would function more effectively as a Committee than as a Council, and that it should not be divided into two distinct bodies for dealing with African and non-African affairs. The only division between the two areas was to exist in the respective responsibilities of two Joint-Secretaries, who were to share the functions previously assigned to the principal officer.[81] The idea of a regular bulletin was, however, strongly supported, and arrangements were made for the first edition of *Oversea Education* to be published during October 1929. In accordance with an established practice of the African Advisory Committee, provision was made for the attendance of Governors, Directors of Education and other officials home on leave. Moreover, these arrangements apart, it was intended that membership should reflect a wide range of expert educational opinion, both in Britain and overseas. The first members included several leading figures in British university life, representatives of Roman Catholic and Protestant missions, two prominent headmistresses, and a number of

[80] Cmd. 2883, *Procs. of Col. Office Conf.*, 1927, pp.67-68.
[81] Hanns Vischer, formerly Secretary to the African Advisory Committee, became Joint-Secretary for African Affairs, and Arthur Mayhew was made Joint-Secretary for non-African Affairs.

persons with long experience of colonial administration.[82] In these circumstances, it seemed reasonable to expect that the Committee would be able to offer competent advice on almost any educational problem which might be encountered.

Though a despatch from the Colonial Secretary, during December 1928, intimated that the Committee would be called upon to offer advisory functions only, without executive responsibilities of any kind, it also affirmed an intention 'to make the fullest possible use of the exceptional experience and knowledge which the Committee . . . can bring to bear'. Members were to be asked to give advice on any schemes for educational development which might be submitted to them by the Colonial Secretary, to submit recommendations on matters relating to colonial education, and to keep themselves generally informed of developments in a variety of educational fields.[83] During the decade which followed before the beginning of the Second World War, the Committee busied itself on a variety of different questions. Its regular monthly meetings were occasions for frank informal discussion, helped by the presence of experts in most educational fields. More permanent contact with overseas territories was maintained by the two Joint-Secretaries, who were responsible for preparing memoranda for discussion, collecting information and furnishing replies to questions asked from many parts of the Empire.

Sometimes the Committee was asked to deliberate on policy, as when, during 1929, it made a general examination of the issues involved in introducing compulsory attendance to colonial territories. The approach which was adopted represented an admirable attempt at realism. It was accepted that, while there were strong arguments in favour of bringing educational facilities within reach of much wider sections of the population, there were nevertheless dangers in moving too quickly: 'it is quality, not quantity, that is important, especially in the early stages'.[84] It was proposed, therefore, to adopt a middle course between the two opposing points of view. There was not, as the Committee saw the situation, any necessity to make a choice between compulsion and a continuation of the voluntary system. As the experience of India and Ceylon seemed to show, educational administrators would be well advised to introduce compulsion gradually, beginning by

[82] Cmd. 3629, *Col. Office Conf.*, 1930: *Appendices to Summary of Procs.*, p.124.
[83] *Ibid.*, p.125.
[84] Cmd. 3628, *Col. Office Conf.*, 1930; *Summary of Procs.*, pp.77-78.

slow stages in those areas where government was in a position to apply it effectively.[85]

More often than not, however, members found themselves called upon to consider practical measures for improving the machinery of educational co-operation between the territories. The report of a sub-committee, adopted in June 1929, contained arrangements for the standardised presentation of annual reports by Education Departments — something which had already received consideration from the Imperial Education Conferences of a few years before. Rigid uniformity was not, in fact, expected, but it was considered that the acceptance of certain standard forms would allow a much greater measure of mutual intelligibility and information.[86] An even more difficult matter raised by the Imperial Education Conferences, the desirability of ensuring free movement of teachers throughout the Empire, also received careful attention from the Advisory Committee. The Acts of Parliament in 1925, enabling the President of the Board of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland to arrange reciprocal recognition of other superannuation schemes with the Empire, had merely underlined the difficulties to be overcome. Though the Colonial Office conference of 1927 devoted a large part of its time to seeking solutions to the problems of teacher-exchange, remarkably little progress was achieved. There seemed no obvious way of resolving the complexities of arranging mutual recognition of pension contributions, or of deciding the extent to which teaching service in one particular territory could count towards seniority in another. An attempt to make at least some progress on these issues was contained in a memorandum presented by the Advisory Committee to the Colonial Conference of 1929, which recommended general acceptance of the principles of mutual recognition of service in other territories and of an award of superannuation benefits in respect of any period of service under individual governments.[87] The Advisory Committee's suggestions received the approval of the Colonial Secretary, who shortly afterwards embodied them in a new series of arrangements for the employment of teachers, which were circulated to all colonial governments.[88] Yet this was by no means

[85] Cmd. 3629, *Col. Office Conf.*, 1930*: Appendices to Summary of Procs.*, pp.126-132.
[86] P.R.O., MS. C.O. 854/17, Col. Office Circular 60097, 29 Aug. 1929, and *Minutes of Advis. Committee on Educ. in the Colonies*, 20 June 1929, pp.33-34.
[87] Cmd. 3629, *Col. Office Conf.*, 1930*: Appendices to Summary of Procs.*, pp.133-134.
[88] P.R.O., MS. C.O., 854/33, Col. Office Circular 80051, 20 Jan. 1932.

the end of the problem, since there was still a need to achieve some measure of reciprocation with the Dominion governments also.

Much more substantial progress was achieved in the field of teacher education, where the Advisory Committee was largely responsible for the provision of the first facilities to meet the needs of intending teachers overseas. A memorandum received early in 1929 from Sir Edward Denham, Governor of the Gambia and a former Director of Education in Ceylon, raised issues of very far-reaching importance. In Denham's experience, the teaching of English in both East and West Africa was 'of so poor a quality, that it is taught rather as a dead than as a living language, and is becoming conversationally a form of English most defiled'. The only effective remedy, as far as he could judge, was to provide expatriate teachers in sufficient numbers to keep standards at a high level. 'We have to recognise,' he wrote, 'that the native populations in our Empire mean to get an English education, and that they will all go to school — and the schools which will give it to them — in increasing numbers every year.' There was therefore an urgent need to establish an 'Imperial Training College for Teachers', capable of supplying the wants of the Colonial Empire as a whole.[••]

As it happened, the needs of teacher education for the Colonies had already received sympathetic consideration from Sir Percy Nunn, Principal of the London Day Training College, who had made available courses in his institution to selected probationary education officers from the Colonial Service. However, such an expedient could clearly do no more than touch the fringe of the problem. It was necessary to provide not only instruction in the theory and practice of education, but also some introduction to the special problems of educational development in overseas territories. Acting as an intermediary between the Advisory Committee (of which he was himself a member), the Board of Education and London University, Nunn succeeded in laying down the framework of a new and promising scheme. The Senate of London University undertook to establish an Institute of Education, based on the London Day Training College and the Education Department of King's College. In the form envisaged by Nunn, the Institute was intended to develop a firm specialist interest in the problems of education throughout the Empire, and to become, in effect, 'a great school of colonial education, concerned not merely with the training of officials, but also with the numerous scientific problems upon whose solution the development of

[••] *Minutes of Advis. Committee on Educ. in the Colonies: Correspondence*, 1928-1929, pp.145-148.

colonial education necessarily waits'. With this end in view, it was necessary to assume something of the organisation of a military staff college, having a permanent nucleus of senior teachers, supplemented from time to time by visiting colleagues from the Dominions and Colonies, as well as from other universities in the United Kingdom.[99]

The breadth and vision of Nunn's design was no doubt encouraged by the course of events at the time, since, under the terms of the Statute of Westminster of 1931, the English-speaking Dominions had been confirmed in full rights of political self-determination. It was, in Nunn's opinion, a matter of the utmost importance that the ties of cultural tradition which still bound Britain to the new nations forming overseas should be preserved and strengthened. Mutual co-operation in educational development appeared to him as an obvious means to this end. He was certainly innocent of any attempt at academic imperialism, or, indeed, of any wish to mould education in the Dominions along uniform lines. His intention was simply 'that all should bring their notions and experience to a common pool, when each country may draw whatever seems likely to further its individual development'. There can be little doubt that the kind of institution he had in mind would have brought considerable benefits to all parts of the Empire. The meeting of fresh minds, and the sharing of new ideas, would have given much-needed encouragement to educational development in many isolated communities. And United Kingdom educational traditions, in turn, would have been enriched with the experience of pioneering endeavours overseas. Nevertheless, the intention to identify the Imperial Education Institute with an individual United Kingdom university was clearly open to question. A university, by its nature, was not capable of identifying itself with the interests of an international political organisation. In attempting to do so, it would have endangered the standards of objectivity and free inquiry on which academic life is based.

In the event, the world-wide economic difficulties of the early 1930s, and the consequent restraints on educational development, made necessary a more restricted execution of Nunn's proposals. During 1935, his successor as Director, Fred Clarke, persuaded the Carnegie Corporation to grant eight fellowships—two of each Dominion—for postgraduate study in educational development. There were, however, no further offers of substantial support from overseas. In 1944 the London University authorities established a Colonial Department within the

[99] Sir P. Nunn, 'An Educational Institute for the Empire,' in *Oversea Education*, 111.1 (Oct. 1931), pp.6-11. See also *C.R.*, IV.1 (Mar. 1945), p.1.

Institute of Education, with the object of providing a number of specialised services in both teaching and research.[91]

Meanwhile, a progressive organisation of Education Departments in Colonial territories during the 1920s and 1930s had opened the way for the systematic investigation of local educational problems, based on an intimate knowledge of local conditions. An intention to encourage higher standards of efficiency in both teaching and administration was implied by the establishment of a unified Colonial Education Service, with effect from 1 June 1938.[92] The result of all these developments was to bring about a slow but far-reaching change in the functions of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee. Its members became less concerned with decisions of policy, and, indeed, with laying down general guide-lines of any kind. Instead, they found themselves called upon to answer many more requests for guidance and practical help, from individual administrators in many parts of the Empire.

In any case, policy-making was now a much more difficult exercise than it had been even a few years before. There were no longer any opportunities for formal consultation between representatives of educational opinion in the Dominions and Colonies. The Imperial Education Conference of 1927 had indeed recommended that a further conference should be held in 1931. Since, however, the state of the world economy during the years which followed made it unlikely that any of the Dominions, and perhaps not many of the Colonies, could afford the expense of sending delegates to London, the British Government took the decision to postpone the meeting, first to 1933, and then to 1934.[93] These postponements were received with considerable misgivings by members of the Advisory Committee. It was considered that the value of holding Imperial Education Conferences would be greatly reduced if a long period of time were allowed to elapse between meetings. And, on the grounds that 'experience shows that financial stress brings in its train new and vital educational problems, problems not of expansion but of consolidation and re-orientation', it was urged that the government should make special efforts to arrange a conference in the circumstances of the time.[94]

[91] The London University Colonial Department was re-named the Department of Education in Tropical Areas during 1952.
[92] P.R.O., MS. C.O. 854/85, Col. Office Circular 20563/36, 8 Oct. 1937.
[93] P.R.O., MS. C.O. 854/85, Col. Office Circular 90053/33, 23 July 1932, and *Minutes of Advis. Committee on Educ. in the Colonies*, 16 Feb. 1933, p.87.
[94] P.R.O., MS. C.O. 854/87, The Hist. and Future of the Imp. Educ. Conf., 1933, p.3.

In the event, the conference never met. A cabinet decision of December 1932 did, in fact, authorise the President of the Board of Education to approach overseas governments with a view to issuing invitations to a meeting in 1934. Yet the replies indicated that prospects were still far from favourable. Only two of the Dominions (the Union of South Africa and Canada through the provincial administration of Nova Scotia) gave a firm promise to send delegates. Of the Colonies, about half seemed likely to be unrepresented. There was obviously little that members of the Advisory Committee could do except to give way. With rather remarkable persistence, they continued to put forward arguments in favour of another Conference, even attempting to persuade government to issue further invitations for 1936.[95] By then, however, the international situation had changed dramatically. In face of growing tensions among the European powers, and a need to concentrate available resources in readiness for defence, the British authorities were in no position to arrange full-scale conferences on matters of imperial concern. This was certainly regrettable, since British administrators stood to benefit from the advice and counsel of educational opinion overseas, at a time when they were themselves on the eve of a large-scale advance in the development of the Colonial Empire.

**The Colonial Development and Welfare Acts**

The success of any programme of social and economic development in the Colonies clearly rested on the availability of regular and substantial instalments of financial aid. A significant turning-point in British imperial policy came, therefore, with the enactment of the first Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1929; the Act set up a Colonial Development Fund from which H.M. Treasury was empowered to make advances of up to £1 million in any year 'for the purpose of aiding and developing agriculture and industry in the Colony or territory and thereby promoting commerce with or industry in the United Kingdom'[96]

There could be no doubting the importance of the measure in terms of principle, since the British Government was clearly accepting a continuing responsibility to make provision for welfare programmes in the Colonial territories. Moreover, quite apart from questions of principle, British imperial administrators showed themselves anxious, during the years which followed, to allow a generous interpretation of

[95] P.R.O., MS. C.O. 854/95, Col. Office Circular 1223, 23 May 1935.
[96] 20 *Geo.* 5, *Ch.* 15, sec. 1.

the terms, which enabled them to support a wide variety of social activities within the general field of agricultural and industrial development. In particular, schemes for technical training, and the mass education of adults, came to assume a much greater importance than ever before.[87]

Nevertheless, there were certain obvious limits to the value of the Act of 1929. It placed an uncompromising emphasis on material development, to the detriment of progress of a more directly cultural or humanitarian nature. Though certain specific objects were enumerated on which expenditure could be incurred, many important matters went unmentioned. Education was not, in fact, included, apart from technical instruction. Morever, the intention was to give preference to assistance towards capital schemes, though grants in aid of recurrent expenditure were not expressly excluded. As a result, only a small proportion of available funds were earmarked for recurrent expenditure, and no long term grants were given. This might, perhaps, be justified as being consistent with a long-established principle of British colonial administration that each territory should be encouraged to develop only those services which it could afford to maintain out of its own revenues. Yet, already, the principle itself was out of date. It was incompatible with the ideals of moral obligation for colonial development which British officials had been supporting from the early 1920's on. Clearly, it was necessary to adopt some more flexible system of financial control, capable of adjustment to occasional changes in policy.

Experience of the first decade of operation under the Act did, in fact, suggest that certain changes were necessary. And, as it happened, the hand of British administrators was forced by the report of a Royal Commission on the West Indies, published early in 1940. 'There is a pressing need,' ran the words of the opening paragraph, 'for a large expenditure on social services and development which not even the least poor of the West Indian Colonies can hope to undertake from their own resources.'[88] Among the most urgent priorities was the provision of training college education for all entrants to the teaching profession, and of adequate school buildings and class-room equipment.[89] Substantial assistance was obviously necessary if these facilities were to be made available in the face of the backward state of the West Indian economy. Yet such assistance, once granted, could hardly fail to form a precedent for other colonial territories as well.

[87] Cmd. 3628, *Procs. of Col. Office Conf.*, 1930, p.10.
[88] Cmd. 6174, *Report of West India Royal Commission*, 1938-1939, para.1.
[89] *Ibid.*, para.7.

An official British announcement, shortly after the publication of the West India Commission's report, made clear that there was about to be an immediate expansion in programmes of Colonial Development, notwithstanding the emergency conditions imposed by the Second World War:

> His Majesty's Government are trustees for the well-being of the peoples of the Colonial Empire, and the spontaneous and whole-hearted support given by the inhabitants of every territory to the common war effort is the best testimony to their approciation of the way in which the trust is being discharged. The primary aim of Colonial policy is to protect and advance the interests of the inhabitants of the Colonies . . . Much has already been accomplished but there is room for further active development of the native resources of the various territories so as to provide their people with improved standards of life . . . If full and balanced development is to be obtained, and if Colonial governments are to be placed in a position to maintain administrative, technical and social services at proper standards, some assistance from outside is necessary at this stage . . . Many Colonies cannot finance out of their own resources the research and survey work, the schemes of major capital enterprise, and the expansion of administrative or technical staffs which are necessary for their full or vigorous development, an adequate standard of health and education services.[100]

It was proposed to replace the Colonial Development Fund by a new Vote on the Estimates, from which grants of up to £5 million per annum for ten years could be made to Colonial governments. These new arrangements were apparently the result of a feeling that, in view of the much larger sums now being made available, it was necessary to have a more direct method of parliamentary control. However, there were at the same time important relaxations of the terms imposed by the Act of 1929, notably in providing for assistance towards recurrent expenditure of various kinds, and in including a number of welfare services, such as education, health and housing. Colonial officials would, henceforward, clearly have much greater freedom of manoeuvre in planning programmes of development suited to the overall needs of any particular territory. As a means of ensuring the availability of expert guidance and advice, a Colonial Development and Welfare Advisory

[100] Cmd. 6175, *Statement of Policy on Col. Devel. and Welfare*, 1940, paras.3 and 5.

committee was to be established, composed partly of official and partly of unofficial members.[101]

Special arrangements were made for the encouragement of research — apparently in response to a plea made not long before by Lord Hailey in the course of his *African Survey*.[102] Certain limited forms of research had already been assisted from the Colonial Development Fund, usually on the advice of scientific and technical experts. It was considered, however, that more effective machinery for supervision was now needed. Accordingly, provision was made for a separate grant of up to £500,000 in any one year for the purposes of research, and for the establishment of a Colonial Research Advisory Committee.[103]

In the British Government's view, neither the £5 million for Colonial Development, nor the £500,000 for research, was likely to be fully expended during any one year in the foreseeable future. There was therefore an opportunity for much forward planning, in which the priorities of future development could be carefully and critically assessed. However, this did not mean any attempt to lay down hard and fast rules which Colonial administrators would be required to observe. On the contrary, in fact, the new legislation was intended to provide Colonial administrations with the means of giving their support to many desirable enterprises which had not been acceptable before:

> From London there will be assistance and guidance but no spirit of dictation. The new policy of development will involve no derogation from the rights and privileges of local legislatures, upon whom rests a measure of responsibility for the improvement of conditions in their several territories, and upon whose co-operation the Government count with confidence . . . The whole effort will be one of collaboration between the authorities in the Colonies and those at home.[104]

On the face of things, it seemed an act of remarkable courage to introduce such a far-reaching measure of colonial policy at a time when Britain herself was immersed in the problems of a major world conflict. Indeed, the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of

[101] *Ibid.*, para.7.
[102] The *African Survey* was published in 1938. A team under Lord Hailey's leadership had spent three years on a study of geographical and sociological features on the continent.
[103] Cmd. 6175, *Statement of Policy on Col. Devel. and Welfare*, 1940, para.8.
[104] *Ibid.*, para.16.

Commons, on 21 May 1940, took place in the shadow of heavy defeats to the British armies in France. Speaking on behalf of the government, the Colonial Secretary, Malcolm MacDonald, indicated that the new schemes would go on, as rapidly as war-time conditions would allow. 'In the midst of the ruin of so much,' he declared, 'it is good to be engaged still upon certain works of construction.' Then he went on to give a hint that the measure before the House was likely to be but the beginning of even greater developments in colonial policy: 'At this critical hour let the world mark the passage of the Colonial Development and Welfare Bill through the British Parliament as a sign of our faith in ultimate victory;' the peoples of the Colonial Empire, having involved themselves in the cause of the United Kingdom, had a right to be re-assured that their interests would not be allowed to go by default.[105]

As it turned out, the difficulties proved considerably greater than MacDonald had anticipated. By the time of the Third Reading on June 11 there had been a sharp deterioration in the British position in France. George Hall, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, was forced to admit that it was 'useless to pretend that the qualification "as rapidly as war-time conditions allow" ' had not been made more pertinent by the recent course of events.' The government had resolved that, until the immediate dangers were past, 'purposes of war value must have the first call on the whole of resources, whether in men, or material or money.'[106] Not long afterwards Colonial administrations were informed, in the course of a circular despatch of September 10, that they must for the moment defer action on all development schemes, except those which could be carried out with local resources, or were of sufficient urgency to justify the expenditure of United Kingdom funds.[107] These instructions were not, however, intended to be carried out too stringently, since a further despatch of 5 June 1941 intimated that Governors should not only make preparations for rapid action after the war, but should lose no opportunity in the meantime to make whatever improvements were possible.[108]

As a result, whilst a number of restricted development schemes were set in motion in various parts of the Colonial Empire under war-time conditions, the main pre-occupation of the time lay in making plans

[105] *Hansard*, 5 *Series*, CCCXI. 41-47.
[106] *Ibid.*, 1204-1208.
[107] Cmd. 6422, *Report on Col. Devel. and Welfare Act*, 1940-1942, para.14.
[108] Cmd. 6299, *Desp. from Sec. of State to Col. Governments*, 5 June 1941, para. 13.

for the future. This was by no means easy, because of the absence of large numbers of civil servants with the armed forces. Nevertheless, a decision by government early in 1942 to set up the two committees originally envisaged in 1940 indicated a readiness to provide a certain measure of guidance from the centre.[109] It was, moreover, a hopeful sign for the future that a prominent place on both committees was given to Lord Hailey, certainly one of the greatest living experts on British Colonial policy, and a leading protagonist of schemes for Colonial research.[110]

As Britain and her allies gradually succeeded in turning the course of the war in their favour, Colonial administrators found it progressively easier to win approval for development schemes. In 1945 even before the war was over, the British Parliament passed the first of a new series of Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, greatly extending the scope and effectiveness of the Act of 1940.[111] The intention was clearly to allow for the planning of much more comprehensive schemes over a longer period. In place of the *maxima* laid down in 1940, it was arranged that up to £17½ million could be expended on overseas development schemes in any one financial year, though no more than £1 million of this could be spent on research. At the same time the limit was extended to 31 March 1956, bringing the total sums available to £120,000,000. Coming as they did at a time when war-time shortages of manpower and material were beginning to ease, the new arrangements could be expected to open the way for large-scale improvements in the living conditions of colonial peoples during the years to follow.

No doubt British policy, as elaborated by the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, was by no means immune from considerations of national self-interest. It was only reasonable, in the face of threats to Britain's safety from a powerful enemy alliance, to take precautions

[109] For a list of development schemes undertaken during the war years see Cmd. 6422, *Report on Col. Devel. and Welfare Act*, 1940-1942, Appendix A, pp.607-612. The two Committees were not made statutory under the terms of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940; the apparent intention was to retain maximum freedom of movement in the hands of the Secretary of State.

[110] Rhodes House; MS. Brit. Emp., s. 342, M. MacDonald to Lord Hailey, 28 Mar. 1940. Lord Hailey became Chairman of the Research Committee and a member of the Colonial Development and Welfare Committee.

[111] 8 *and* 9 *Geo.* 6, *Ch.* 20. An Act of 1949 (12 *and* 13 *Geo.* 6, *Ch.* 49) increased the annual limit to £20 million and the limit on research to £20 million. The financial limits were raised still further in 1965, and at the same time the date of operation was extended to 31 March 1960 (3 *and* 4 *Eliz.* 2, *Ch.* 6).

against possible outbreaks of political and social unrest in the Colonies. And it was apparent that investment in colonial development would give a useful, if rather short-term boost to British industrial production.[112] However, these considerations notwithstanding, the passing of the Acts represented a new and essentially altruistic development in Colonial policy. They enunciated, in unmistakeable terms, the moral duty of United Kingdom taxpayers to make a direct contribution towards the welfare of communities committed to British colonial rule. The principle, once established, was likely to be extended to an increasing number of facets of colonial life as time went on. Indeed, the Act of 1940 had recognised the fact by accepting a much wider range of criteria for investment in social and economic development. The implications for education were obviously of very considerable importance. In future a much larger number of colonial educational activities could be expected to benefit through regular financial support from the imperial authorities.

**Moves towards Self-Government within the Empire; Criticisms of British Imperial Educational Policy**

The later Colonial Development and Welfare Acts were merely one aspect of a changing emphasis in British imperial policy during the early stages of the Second World War. British administrators were coming to realise that they would be faced by much stronger demands for self-government after the war. And they accepted, in consequence, that there must be much greater investment in programmes of education designed to prepare colonial communities for the responsibilities of political power.

This development was already well advanced in India where, as early as 1917, a statement by the Secretary of State had intimated that the country's future must lie in a progressive development towards political independence. Between February 1918 and October 1920 a campaign was mounted to produce a literate electorate through measures introducing compulsory elementary schooling in all the seven major

[112]Speaking during the Second Reading of the Colonial Development and Welfare Bill in 1945, the Colonial Secretary, Oliver Stanley, suggested that the economic advantages which Britain derived from her colonies were often widely exaggerated. In 1939, despite Imperial Preference, only 24% of colonial imports came from Britain, whilst Britain received only 35% of colonial exports. *K.C.A.*, 1943-1946, f. 7032 A.

provinces."[113] It was more difficult to remove existing shortcomings in the content of education. Nevertheless, British officials were impressed by the intensity of demands for curricular reform put forward by the Non-Co-Operative Movement, operating under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi during the early 1920s. 'If the function of education is the adaptation of the future citizen to his environment,' wrote one official, 'then the content of education must change in harmony with changes in that environment.'[114] During the years which followed a succession of attempts were made to carry out reforms, culminating at length in a comprehensive re-constitution of Indian education by the Sargent Act of 1944. [115]

Events moved at a faster pace in British territories in Africa where, for the most part, relatively little had been done towards putting into effect the principles set out in the Memorandum of 1925. An early indication of the decisions which British ministers had in mind was provided by a journey undertaken by Lord Hailey, at the request of the Colonial Office, through the territories of British Africa during the spring of 1940. Though the ostensible purpose of Hailey's mission was to undertake 'an informal study of certain aspects of Native Administration,'[116] he was also called upon to offer general guidance on the future political development of African peoples as a whole. 'It may be', wrote the Colonial Secretary in secret letters of introduction to the Governors of the West African territories, 'that one of the results of the war will be to stimulate the political consciousness of Africans and to give emphasis to the demand for a quickened pace of development towards more representative and liberal institutions of government.' With these considerations in mind, it was deemed appropriate to seek 'an objective and unbiased view' from one

[113] *Progress of Educ. in India*, 1917-1922, Calcutta 1923, vol. 1, para.1.

[114] *Ibid.*, para.14.

[115] *India: Centr. Advis. Board of Educ., Silver Jubilee Souv.*, 1935-1960, Delhi 1960, pp.142-143. The Act, which was largely designed by Sir John Sargent, Secretary to the Education Department, attempted to relate educational facilities to the needs of Indian life. Nursery schools were planned for children under 6; universal, compulsory and free education was to be provided for both boys and girls between 6 and 14 with the aim of extending literacy and giving preparation for citizenship; secondary, technical and university education was to be progressively made available to all who had the capacity to benefit from it.

[116] Rhodes House, MS. Brit. Emp., s. 342, Announcement by Col. Office and Dominions Office, 1939.

who was already an acknowledged authority on the African way of life.[117]

The nature of the guidance which Hailey eventually presented to the British Cabinet has not been revealed, but it almost certainly played an influential part in the policy decisions which followed. On 5 March 1943, at a time when the war situation was at last becoming significantly favourable to Britain and her allies, came a new statement of policy from the Colonial Secretary, Oliver Stanley, in the course of a speech to the Oxford Conservative Association. 'Successive British statesmen,' the Colonial Secretary recalled, 'have announced that Britain's ultimate aim in her Colonial Empire was to see self-government established in the various territories. We have been sincere in these declarations in the past; we are equally sincere when we repeat them to-day.' It was not intended that there should be any immediate renunciation of British imperial responsibilities. Yet the circumstances of the time called for a much brisker move towards the achievement of self-government than had been thought proper even a few years before. The period which followed the war must necessarily bring a greater challenge to the sincerity of Britain's policy towards her colonial territories: 'If we meet those years aright we shall have 60,000,000 people, prosperous, friendly and grateful, bound by unbreakable ties of common interest and common respect to the British Commonwealth. If we meet them wrongly, then we shall lose an Empire which we shall not have the imagination, the knowledge or the foresight to hold.'[118]

Stanley was no doubt aware that the challenge to British Colonial policy would come, not only from within the Empire, but from external observers as well. On the one hand, Britain's chief ally, the United States, committed by tradition to an anti-imperialist philosophy — and not altogether free of suspicions concerning the economic advantages which Britain was supposed to derive from her colonial possessions — was actively seeking 'an orderly but scheduled abolition of the colonial system.'[119] On the other hand, Soviet Russia, recognising

[117]Rhodes House, MS. Brit. Emp., s. 342, Cipher Telegram from Col. Secretary to Governors of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, 18 Dec. 1939. Significantly, perhaps, the Southern Rhodesian prime minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, was kept in ignorance of the real reason for Hailey's mission, being merely requested to facilitate him in making comparisons between the systems of native administration in Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Rhodes House, MS. Brit. Emp., s. 342, Draft Telegram to Governor of Sthn. Rhodesia, 24 Nov. 1939.

[118]*K.C.A.*, 1943-1946, f. 6066 A.

[119]See broadcast by Wendell Willkie in *C.R.*, 111.1 (Mar. 1943), p.9.

the damage to Western interests which could be caused by an uncontrolled outburst of aspirations on the part of people in the colonies, lost few opportunities to question and deride the relationships of tutelage which still bound colonial territories to an imperial power. The establishment of a United Nations Committee on Colonies during the immediate post-war years enabled Russian leaders to make a much more forceful presentation of their point of view. Their representatives in the U.N. Assembly strove repeatedly to carry resolutions which would have required all colonies to be placed under a control similar to that already exercised over Trusteeship territories, and the production of information on political and constitutional matters by the administering power.[120] These tactics appear to have had little success in bringing about any slackening of control by the several imperial powers, but they nevertheless had the damaging effect of producing a climate of opinion in which it became exceedingly difficult to obtain sound and objective criticism on colonial policy from other U.N. members. It was important that the opportunities being presented to raise the living standards of people in the less developed parts of the world should not be neglected through political rivalries between the great powers.

Meanwhile, British imperial statesmen were also confronted by difficulties at home, where opinion was already undergoing a fundamental change in its attitude towards the Colonial Empire. The cumulative experience of two World Wars, bringing at once a greater sense of humanitarian values, and a closer relationship with communities overseas, had gone far to break down former feelings of pride in the privileges and responsibilities of imperial power. There was, however, as yet, very little realisation of the scope of the new opportunities unfolding themselves for social and educational re-construction in the Colonies. One contemporary observer, Harold Nicholson, was quick to perceive that there was need of a comprehensive programme of re-education in attitudes towards the Colonies if British opinion was to hold firm against the avalanche of hostile criticism from abroad:

> There can be no hope of wider understanding if we allow our own people to suppose that 'imperialism' represents an outworn and rather discreditable phase in our history; the only hope is to show them that it is a continuous process of energy and improvement . . . I am an

[120] *The Times*, 22 Sept. 1948. From the outset, the British Government supplied political and constitutional information concerning its Colonies on a voluntary basis to the librarian of the United Nations Organisation.

imperialist, but the pride and pleasure I derive from Empire do not take as their symbol 'the chain of fortresses which, from Spain to China, circles half the globe.' I think of the scientists I have known, grappling with sleeping-sickness among the scrub-forests of Tanganyika; of teachers at Makerere, at Budo, at Achimota or at Gorden College; of vets and agriculturalists and engineers; of all those men who, unrecognised and traduced, devoting their lives, not to personal profit or national aggrandishment, but to betterment and justice, are fired and sustained by the desire to impart to others the wisdom and responsibilities of our race.[121]

A combination of circumstances, therefore — the rising tide of aspirations amongst the peoples of the colonial territories, the force of external criticism, and the decline of public interest in the Empire — were compelling British ministers to take a long hard look at the future objectives of colonial policy. They were called upon to give closer attention to the means whereby colonial communities were being prepared to take responsibility for the conduct of their own affairs. The point had been emphasised by Lord Cranborne, as early as 1942, in a speech to the House of Lords on the eve of his replacement as Colonial Secretary: 'If we are to prepare the colonial peoples for self-government in the future, we must first provide them with the basis of responsible citizenship, which is education. I use the term education in the very widest sense. It covers many kinds of training, suited to the needs of different peoples living under different conditions.'[122] In following this ideal British administrators were necessarily required to re-consider the principles of policy laid down in the Colonial Office Advisory Committee's Memorandum of 1925. Programmes of education aimed at the gradual development of native culture and tradition were likely to prove inadequate to meet the urgency of the new situation. It was necessary to provide advanced courses of training, in a variety of both intellectual and technical skills, which were as yet largely outside the educational experience of many developing countries.

During the last phase of the Colonial period, British educational policy moved along new and, in certain respects, revolutionary lines. There was still the intention to work whenever possible through the institutions of indigenous life. One notable indication of this was provided by a special report of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on *Mass Education in African Society*, published in 1944, which

[121]H. Nicholson, 'Brit. Col. Policy,' in *C.R.*, 111.1 (Mar. 1943), pp.8-9.
[122]*C.R.*, 111.1 (Mar. 1943), pp.6-8.

advocated large-scale programmes of adult education to bridge the gap between educated and semi-educated sections of society. In the view of the authors of the report, it was necessary to produce responsible leaders of opinion at local community level, capable of providing direct instruction in the duties of citizenship.[123] Yet it was significant that British officials were, at the same time, becoming increasingly involved in schemes for bringing indigenous institutions up-to-date with conditions in the outside world. The appointment of the Asquith and Elliott Commissions — not long after Stanley's speech to the Oxford Conservative Association in 1943 — made clear that investigations were to be carried out respectively into the future development of higher education in the Colonies, and into the case for establishing university institutions in West Africa. Both secondary and higher education came to receive much greater emphasis than before. British officials showed themselves aware that the demand for well-qualified teachers at every level made the secondary school 'the key to further educational development.'[124] And they were apparently no less appreciative that there must an expansion of facilities for non-academic secondary schooling, both to provide the skilled manpower needed for economic development, and to meet the expectations of colonial ex-servicemen returning from the war.[125]

Even more far-reaching changes took place in the methods of formulating policy. As had happened on several occasions in the past, Africa provided the setting for a new approach to educational planning during 1952, with the presentation of reports by two missions, the one sent to East and Central Africa under the leadership of A. L. Binns, and the other to West Africa under Dr. G. B. Jeffrey. The missions were not officially sponsored by the Colonial Office, and the bulk of their financial support came through a grant from the Nuffield Corporation. Their aim was to establish a series of unofficial contacts with those most intimately involved in educational activities, and to collect a variety of views for consideration by a conference to be held in the United Kingdom. The conference, which subsequently met at Cambridge, during September 1952, was therefore different in character from any previous gathering summoned to consider matters concerning

[123] Col. No. 186, *Mass Educ. in Afr. Society*, 1944, paras.12-13.
[124] Cmd. 7167, *The Col. Empire*, 1939-1947, para.225.
[125] *Ibid.*, para.233. Some attempt to meet the special needs of ex-servicemen was made by the establishment of four Trade Training Centres in Uganda during 1945, and by the organisation of a number of trade courses in Kenya during the following year. In several Colonies ex-servicemen were trained for medical and health work.

the British Colonial Empire. Though there were in attendance a number of representatives from the Colonial Office and from other government agencies in the United Kingdom, the great majority of those present were representatives of different facets of educational life in each of the Colonial territories concerned. They included administrators, academics, and teachers at every level, and they could be expected to provide a broad cross-section of educational opinion. The object of their deliberations was not to make any formal decisions on policy, or to lay down any common pattern for future development. Instead, they were called upon merely 'to place on record the best views which could be formalised and expressed, so that hereafter those who have responsibilities in the shaping of policies and in the carrying out of educational work should find . . . opinions and conclusions which had been refined by discussion, but which had not been pressed into uniformity.'[126] Such a record could be expected to prove invaluable, as political leaders in newly-independent territories came forward to take over control of educational policy from their former colonial masters.

**The Case for and against British Paternalism**

Any study of British Colonial educational policy must take account of a number of formidable difficulties under which it operated. The structure of British Colonial administration, almost everywhere decentralised, was nowhere more loosely organised than in the field of education. Not till the 1920s, with the publication of the writings of Lugard and Guggisberg, and their sequel in the Memorandum on *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*, was there an attempt to lay down general principles for educational development in any major area of the Colonial Empire. Not till the establishment of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee, several years later, was there any body competent to take an overall view of education in the Colonial Empire as a whole. Even then, there continued to be innumerable discrepancies between policy and practice. The guiding hand of the Colonial Office rarely fell heavily on local territorial administrators, who continued to enjoy a great deal of latitude in the solution of their own particular problems. 'Nothing has struck me more in my Colonial tours,' admitted the Under-Secretary of State (William Ormsby-Gore), in 1929, 'than the lack of touch between Colony and Colony. Our present machinery

[126] *African Educ.: a Study of Educational Policy and Practice in Brit. Trop. Africa*, Oxford 1953, pp.XI-XII.

for the interchange of experience and ideas between Colonies is inadequate in many spheres of human activity — and especially in education.'[127]

Very little was done during the years which followed to improve the machinery of educational administration — at any rate down to the establishment of the Colonial Education Service in 1938. Though systems of educational administration in individual territories became steadily more adapted to the work they had to do, there was even less determination to impose any kind of centralised control of policy from London. The attitude of the Colonial Office was apparently summed up in the preliminary statement on the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940: 'From London there will be assistance and guidance but no spirit of dictation.' By the time of Oliver Stanley's announcement of an accelerated move towards Colonial self-government in 1943 it was already too late for British statesmen — even had they wished to do so — to impose uniformity on a diverse collection of education systems, in different stages of development, and with different problems and priorities, all over the Empire.

In this very diversity, however, almost certainly lay the most valuable contribution of British Colonial education to the life of communities overseas. As Lord Cranborne explained in the course of his speech to the House of Lords in 1942: 'To deal with this diversity of peoples and conditions we have been obliged to establish and operate systems of administration distinguished above all by variety, elasticity and flexibility. We have adopted and adapted existing systems, changing them readily as the need arose and as experience taught.'[128] By refusing to submerge the identity of individual colonial communities in any centralised administrative structure, the British were attempting to give ample opportunity for the growth of vigorous local institutions.

Their policy did not always meet with approval from the colonial communities concerned. In Africa, at least, two main kinds of argument were frequently brought against it. The first of these, put forward with particular force by West African leaders during the years which followed the foundation of Achimota, concerned the efforts being made to encourage vernacular and local studies. It was protested that what African students needed was not any further steeping in their own culture — which in any case they understood more thoroughly than

[127] W. Ormsby Gore, 'Research and Experiment in Oversea Education,' in *Oversea Education*, 1.1 (Oct. 1929), pp.1-3.
[128] *C.R.*, 111.1 (Mar. 1943), pp.6-8.

did the expatriate officials sent to educate them — but a course of studies on the Western model leading to the award of a university degree. Some critics even went so far as to suggest that the courses being devised for Africans were intended to keep them in a permanent position of social and intellectual inferiority.[129] A different kind of argument, expressed with particular clarity by President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, declared that British Colonial educational policy was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country. Instead, it was merely intended to inculcate the values of Colonial society, and to train individuals for the service of the Colonial government.[130]

Both of these criticisms can certainly be applied, with varying degrees of justification, to British Colonial policy not only in Africa, but in many other areas as well. It was in the nature of things that Colonial officials, by their background and training, were frequently incapable of gaining an incisive knowledge of the customs and traditions of the people whom they were endeavouring to serve, or an adequate appreciation of the aspirations which were likely to motivate native leaders after independence had been won. Their paternalistic ideals, no matter how sincere, could hardly fail to arouse some measure of resentment from people who were impatient for a swift and decisive ascent to political power. Nevertheless, these considerations must not be allowed to obscure the significance of the ultimate purpose which British administrators had in mind. They were working, as one of their number explained, in the light of certain clear convictions: 'a belief in the potential equality of all races of mankind, respect for all local forms of culture as modes of growth, a desire to assist in these modes of growth by offering the best that western experience can contribute in the form best adapted to local conditions, a feeling of deep humility when the fruits of Western civilisation are set before the East and Africa, a buoyant and lively hope . . . the love of truth, the love of ordered freedom, and recognition of the comprehending love of God.'[131] Such convictions, consistently applied, could be expected to create an environment in which indigenous institutions and traditions could freely develop to their fullest possible extent. And in this way they might contribute to the growth of a vigorous sense of national identity, at some future time.

[129] P. Foster, *Educ. and Social Change in Ghana*, London 1965, p.167.
[130] J. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, Dar es Salaam 1968, p.269.
[131] A. Mayhew, *Educ. in the Col. Empire*, London 1938, pp.18-19.

## CHAPTER 3

## PARTNERSHIP

### The Emergence of New Independent States within The Commonwealth; Changing Relationships in Educational Co-operation

The years which followed the Second World War were marked by a swiftly-accelerating programme of independence for the peoples of Britain's Colonial Empire. A resounding victory for the Labour Party under Clement Attlee in the British elections of 1945, seemed to imply that advocates of democratic and humanitarian policies overseas were about to be given their head. Attlee's decision to grant independence to India — subsequently carried into effect by the Indian Independence Act of 1947, creating the new Dominions of India and Pakistan — was in no way inconsistent with the main principles of British Colonial policy, as laid down by a succession of official papers since the mid-1920s. Yet the timing of the measure was a matter of a different kind. It could hardly fail to arouse both surprise and uneasiness amongst those who feared not only the immediate effects on the Indian sub-continent itself, but also the impact on many colonial peoples who were impatiently waiting to take control of their own affairs.

The impact on colonial peoples was certainly increased immeasurably further by the decision of the two newly independent countries to remain in the Commonwealth, and by the willingness of other Commonwealth governments to agree to India's continued membership after she had assumed republican status in 1949. Henceforward, the Commonwealth bond was something intrinsically different to the one which had been known before and during the Second World War. In place of an intimate relationship between kindred peoples, with the same Sovereign, appeared a much looser association between peoples of different race, culture and political aspiration. The implications of the change were not lost on the leaders of the newly-emerging states. Indeed, the concept of 'self-government within the Empire,' as enunciated by Oliver Stanley in 1943, began to present attractive possibilities, perhaps never before realised. It was becoming increasingly clear that the achievement of rights of national self-determination was by no means incompatible with a continuing relationship with Britain and the other Commonwealth states, to the mutual advantage of all.

Indian independence served, therefore, as a spur to political progress in other parts of the British Empire. The most dramatic developments

took place in Africa during the 1950s, where British administrators laboured to invest African leaders, first with control over their own internal affairs, and then with complete political independence. A start was made in the Gold Coast, where the Accra Riots of 1948[1] were instrumental in causing a re-constitution of the Legislative Council with an African majority; subsequently, the Gold Coast achieved Responsible Government during 1954, and in 1957 complete independence as the state of Ghana. Nigeria reached limited self-government in 1951, and independence in 1960. Britain's other West African Colonies, Sierra Leone and Gambia, became independent in 1961 and 1965 respectively. In East Africa, after a shorter time-table, Tanganyika became independent in 1961, Uganda in 1962 and Kenya in 1963. Also during 1963 came the end of an experiment in Central African Federation, and with it a recognition of the independence of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, as Malawi and Zambia respectively. Such a remarkable run of events could hardly fail to bring, in its turn, a need for painstaking re-adjustment to new political relationships and new patterns of international co-operation. In a speech before the South African Parliament at Cape Town, on 3 February 1960, the British prime minister, Harold Macmillan, used words which were less a prophecy of impending changes than a call to come to terms with an existing state of affairs: The wind of change in blowing through the continent . . . Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact.'[2]

In a further passage from the same speech, Macmillan made certain criticisms of the racial policies of the South African Government, which he found incompatible with the 'convictions about the political destinies

[1] The Accra Riots began on 28 February 1948 with disturbances between the police and a procession of ex-servicemen which was attempting to make its way to present a petition to the Governor at Christiansborg Castle. There were later disturbances on a smaller scale at Kumasi, the Ashanti capital, and at the cocoa centre of Nswam. A commission of enquiry, under the chairmanship of Aiken Watson, K.C., approved firm measures which had been taken by the government, but recommended a much faster rate of political reform to remove an 'unreasoning suspicion' of government intentions which was 'poisoning Gold Coast life.' In addition to advocating a rapid Africanisation of the public services, the commission considered that there should be a pattern of government similar to that in the United Kingdom—a proposal which was resisted by the British Government on the grounds that 'a European system cannot be imposed arbitrarily on an African society.' *K.C.A.*, 1946-8, f. 9190 B and 1948-50, f. 9744 A.

[2] *A.R.*, 1960, p.65.

of free men' which Britain was attempting to put into practice in her own colonial territories. These words constituted an almost unprecedented departure from a long-established convention amongst Commonwealth leaders to refrain from open criticism of each other's internal affairs. Yet the time, and the place, in which Macmillan chose to utter them, provided a significant indication of the new multi-racial basis on which the Commonwealth was coming to rest.[3]

Other steps in the movement towards independence came with the creation of the new states of Jamaica and Trinidad in 1962 (on the dissolution of the West Indies Federation), of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963[4] and the Kingdom of Malta in 1964. According to figures produced by the Colonial Office during 1963, the number of inhabitants in colonial territories ruled from Whitehall had been reduced to 27 million, as compared with about 500 million on 1945. Moreover, during the same period, the number of Commonwealth states rose from five to sixteen, only one-eighth of their population now being made up of people of European descent.[5]

Even at the time when they were arranging to hand over political responsibility to the leaders of local communities throughout the Empire, British administrators were preparing a new approach to the problems of educational development. With rather disconcerting abruptness, these problems had assumed an entirely different form. 'It is not enough now,' observed one leading British expert on overseas education, 'for us to know what the aims of our educational policies in the overseas territories should be. For the policy is ceasing to be ours to make. In the period ahead we shall have increasingly to ask ourselves a difficult question: given this loss of power and the continuance of an educational relationship, what is the role that we should play?'[6]

It did not necessarily follow that the role would be any less significant or demanding than in the days when Britain held exclusive responsibility for the educational policies of the Colonial Empire. Many ex-colonial territories were clearly faced with a gigantic task of educational expansion. New political and social aspirations brought

[3] South Africa's decision to withdraw her application for continued Commonwealth membership after the assumption of republican status in 1961 represented an implicit recognition of the multi-racial character of the new Commonwealth.
[4] Singapore left Malaysia in 1965 to become an independent republic.
[5] *Hansard*, 5 *Series*, CCCCCCLXXVI. 649.
[6] L. Elvin, *Educ. and the end of Empire*, London 1956, p. 15.

a demand for universal primary education as a means to a more democratic social structure; expansions in knowledge implied a need for more secondary and technical education, in an attempt to keep pace with scientific and technological progress in more developed countries; at the same time substantial increases in population, especially in Asian countries, made it more difficult to meet even existing commitments at all educational levels. In these circumstances, though the leaders of newly-emergent Commonwealth countries could be expected to seek external aid wherever it could appropriately be found, they were likely to find special advantages in a continued association with the former colonial power. For a long time to come, they would find it necessary to study the educational institutions of the United Kingdom, and the philosophies on which they were based, in order to understand not only the facts, but also the potential of systems of education in former British Colonies. And again, because of the traditions which they shared in common, many new developments in United Kingdom education would have special implications for former colonial systems. British teachers, and British educational experts of various kinds, could therefore expect to find themselves in continued demand in territories overseas.

As the Colonial relationship began to fade away, it was, in reality, already being replaced by what one prominent British official called 'a continuing association of special intimacy.'[7] The basis of this association was the mutual interest of both developed and developing countries of the Commonwealth in a stable and peaceful world. For this purpose, Britain — and, to an increasing extent, the other older Commonwealth states as well — were willing to make a substantial investment in various forms of overseas aid. Meanwhile, the newly-independent countries, for their part, were prepared to make use of financial and human resources supplied by the former colonial power. The implications of the situation were assessed, in remarkably clear-cut terms, by Arthur Creech Jones, Colonial Secretary in the post-war Labour government: 'You want good standards and conditions. The world wants what you can make and produce. You need what Western civilisation can offer. From the reservoir of our experience and knowledge in the Western world, *we contribute as partners in supplying the things essential to your development.*'[8]

[7] Sir C. Cox, 'The Impact of Brit. Educ. on the Indigenous Peoples of Overseas Territories,' in *C.R.* IX. 8 (Dec. 1956), pp.230-233.
[8] A. Creech Jones, 'Col. Policy in Africa,' in *C.R.*, V.8 (Dec. 1948), pp.229-231.

**The Colombo Plan**

The first major attempt to carry these ideals of partnership into effect in the field of educational co-operation, grew out of a wider design for social and economic development in one of the most depressed regions of the post-war Commonwealth. South and South-East Asia had suffered particularly severe dislocation of their economic life as a result of the war, whilst their problems of poverty and overpopulation had long been neglected. A conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers, meeting at Colombo, Ceylon, in January 1950, decided to set up a Consultative Committee, charged with the task of surveying the needs of the region, and of establishing machinery for the co-ordination of measures of international assistance.[9] At the first meeting of the Consultative Committee, held at Sydney during May 1950, arrangements were made for the immediate inauguration of a Technical Co-Operation Scheme, with the object of encouraging much higher levels of production. Technical assistance was to be arranged bilaterally between participating governments, to a limit of £8 million over the three years from 1 July 1950.[10] Two new institutions were established, a Council for Technical Co-Operation with representatives from each of the participating governments, and a Bureau with responsibility for day-to-day administration of the scheme. In general terms, it was decided that assistance would be provided in two main forms: courses of training in those countries most capable of providing them, and the despatch of instructors, experts and equipment, wherever they might be required.[11]

So far, the arrangements of the Colombo Plan were fully in line with the principles of educational co-operation already laid down by British administrators in the territories for which they were responsible. They represented, in a sense, a further extension of the work set in motion by the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts from 1929 on. Yet there were, at the same time, a number of revolutionary features in the Plan which came, in due course, to have a far-reaching influence on further attempts at educational co-operation in the Commonwealth.

In the first place, though the initial arrangements were drawn up by a group of Commonwealth members alone (Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom), it was

[9] Cmd. 8529, *First Annual Report of Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan*, 1952, para.1.
[10] *Ibid.*, para.6.
[11] Cmd. 8080, *Report by Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan*, 1950, para.16.

apparently hoped from the beginning that other countries in the area would be prepared to join on the same terms.[12] And so, indeed, it happened during the years which followed. The first non-Commonwealth countries to be admitted were Cambodia and Vietnam, who joined in 1954. Later additions were Afghanistan, Bhutan, Burma, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Korea, Nepal, the Phillipines and Thailand. Meanwhile, the United States, already involved in substantial aid programmes to Asian countries on her own account, had fulfilled all the functions of a full member since 1951.[13] The precedent was an important one, since it showed that a Commonwealth organisation for international co-operation could be expanded to include other like-minded countries with the same objects in view.

Second, it was made clear that the Consultative Council did not intend to enter into competition with the United Nations Organisation and other agencies concerned with the distribution of international aid. On the contrary, it was recognised that there must be vigorous attempts at co-ordination with other programmes of international co-operation: 'close liaison and co-operation among the various agencies now operating in the field of technical assistance is essential if the available manpower is to be used to best advantage.'[14] There was therefore an opportunity for the development of outward-looking policies, capable of taking account of other facilities for aid, and of sharing information and experience.

Third, and most significant, perhaps, it was proposed to get away from any clear-cut distinction between developed, or donor, countries on the one hand, and developing countries in need of a substantial measure of international assistance on the other. Taking as their central theme 'the maximum mutual help among the countries in the area and the other participating countries,' the designers of the Colombo Plan attempted to find ways in which even the least affluent participants would be enabled to offer assistance in some form or other.[15] The effect was to make possible a more economical use of material and human resources already available in the area. And — still more important — it gave a much-needed psychological boost to a number of poorer countries, who discovered that it was often within their capacity to

[12] *Ibid.* Malaya, Singapore and other British territories were admitted as full members after independence.
[13] *Colombo Plan Report*, 1968, para.6.
[14] Cmd. 8080, *Report by Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan*, 1950, para.15.
[15] *Ibid.*, para.14.

make a sizeable return for whatever assistance they themselves received from abroad.

For all these reasons, practical experience gained in implementing the Colombo Plan could hadly fail to make a decisive contribution to future programmes of educational co-operation within the Commonwealth. Perhaps unavoidably, the first two or three years were devoted mainly to planning, with the object of selecting the most effective programmes of aid in each of the countries concerned. Then, by gradual stages, the emphasis moved towards a series of carefully co-ordinated operations, in which the three main elements of technical co-operation — courses of training, advice from experts and the provision of equipment — were brought together in the same programme, and supplemented with an appropriate measure of capital aid. As a result, it became evident that the balance was shifting from large numbers of comparatively small and disconnected projects to a selected group of key activities, each providing a link in a chain of carefully planned development.[16]

No less important than these changes in development strategy was an attempt to provide more and more facilities for training in the countries where students could be expected, in due course, to live and work. There was increasing recognition, among all the countries associated with the Colombo Plan, of the considerable advantages — in both educational and sociological terms — of relating technical instruction to the local environment. This did not mean any intention to halt the flow of candidates seeking training overseas. But it did imply a desire to limit overseas courses as far as possible to advanced training, in which area it was considered there was special justification for taking students away from their home countries.[17]

### The Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan and Afro-Anglo-American Programme

A great deal of the experience derived in operating the Colombo Plan was, in fact, incorporated in arrangements for the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan, drawn up in 1960. Originating in a decision of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative

[16] *Colombo Plan Report*, 1953-54, para.2.
[17] *Ibid.*, para.5.

Council,[18] the Plan was aimed at expanding development programmes already in existence in a number of Commonwealth countries in Africa. Capital aid was provided from time to time, mainly from United Kingdom resources. Yet it was significant that the emphasis of the Plan shifted more and more to technical assistance provided, as in the case of the Colombo Plan, through experts and training facilities, and the sharing of experience gained in dealing with problems of development.[19]

For some time, the bulk of assistance was provided by the older, more developed countries of the Commonwealth, who had become increasingly aware of their obligations in international co-operation since the close of the Second World War. The United Kingdom, in addition to various programmes of capital aid, assumed responsibility for the higher or technical education of large numbers of African students, some 17,000 of whom studied at British institutions during the early 1960s. At the same time, the British Overseas Services Aid Scheme, designed to help African Commonwealth countries to surmount the difficulties of staffing government services during the early years of independence, enabled expatriate administrative and professional officers to stay on in various key positions for as long as they were required. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand all provided technical experts and training on a generous scale. However, an even more remarkable feature of the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan was the growing volume of assistance from countries who were themselves facing a need for large-scale development programmes amongst their own people. India and Pakistan, for instance, included financial appropriations for the Plan in their annual budgets. The Federation of Malaya, though unable to offer financial assistance, undertook to provide training facilities in a number of specified fields.[20] These developments were significant, as indicating a determination to produce a genuine situation of partnership, based on a spirit of give-and-take among all the Commonwealth countries concerned.

African countries were, as yet, in no position to provide much assistance for each other. Nevertheless, a number of examples of

[18] The Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council was established by the Montreal Conference in 1958 to co-ordinate existing facilities for consultation and co-operation in economic fields. The decision to inaugurate the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan was taken at a meeting held in London during 1960, under the chairmanship of Selwyn Lloyd.

[19] *Report of Spec. Commonwealth Afr. Assistance Plan*, 1962, paras.1-6.

[20] *Ibid.*, paras.13-14.

co-operation on a small scale gave hope of establishing contacts which might widen into a much more fruitful relationship at some future. time. During the first year of the Plan, Kenya sent a professional expert to Nigeria, whilst Ghana offered two to the Gambia; the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland trained eight East Africans in diesel locomotive working, and sent one of its officials for training in tsetse and trypanosomiasis control on Kenya.[21] Such contacts, as they developed, were a matter of informal collaboration between the several governments concerned. In keeping with a long-standing tradition in the Commonwealth, and in the British Empire before it, the Plan did not provide for any machinery to enforce common policy on participating members. The aim was essentially to expand the cumulative total of aid made available through a variety of bilateral arrangements, intended to meet the circumstances and needs of each individual country.[22]

Another main feature of the Colombo Plan — the ability of Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth countries to work closely together in a common development programme — was followed in a second experiment in international co-operation on the African continent. The Afro-Anglo-American Programme for teacher education in Africa was launched by the first African conference of the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession, held at Makerere College, Uganda, during 1960. Helped by a grant of $450,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the sponsors aimed at three main objectives: a three-year programme of exchanges in staff amongst African, British and American teacher-education institutions; specialised training for African and American postgraduate students in Columbia University and the University of London; assistance for research projects on educational problems in Africa. It was decided that leadership of the scheme would devolve mainly on two institutions, the Institute of Education of London University and Teachers' College, Columbia University, both of which had already established a variety of relationships with systems of education overseas. The authorities of Teachers' College, moreover, announced their intention to establish a special unit concerned with the study of African education — apparently the first of its kind in the United States. Apart from these two institutions, the founder members comprised Departments or Institutes of Education in five African Commonwealth countries —



[21] *Ibid.*, para.16.
[22] *Ibid.*, para.8.

Ghana, Nigeria, Rhodesia, Sierra Leone and Uganda.[23] Institutions in two non-Commonwealth countries, Ethiopia and Liberia, joined during 1969.

The timing of the Afro-Anglo-American Programme was propitious, since it happened to coincide with an outburst of interest in educational development amongst a number of African countries who found themselves on the eve of achieving inedependence from colonial rule. It was against such a background that a Conference of African Education Ministers, meeting at Addis Ababa during 1961, decided on a number of general targets to be achieved during the next two decades or so. One recommendation of the Conference invited U.N.E.S.C.O. to 'assist the governments concerned to co-ordinate their national efforts with any external aid necessary for the fulfilment of the educational programmes adopted.' In pursuance of this recommendation, U.N.E.S.C.O. authorities decided to establish a clearing house of information on African educational needs, which set about the task of assembling data on the educational development plans of African countries, the needs revealed by these plans, and the offers of external aid received.[24] Machinery was therefore in being for encouraging just the kind of advanced knowledge and understanding of Africa and its problems which the Afro-Anglo-American programme seemed to require. At about the same time, a commission under the chairmanship of Sir Eric Ashby laid down certain guide-lines for the development of secondary and higher education in Nigeria, which could hardly fail to provide an example for other newly-independent countries in Africa as well:

> To approach our task . . . we have to think of Nigeria in 1980: a nation of some 50 million people, with industries, oil and a well-developed agriculture; intimately associated with other free African countries on either side of its borders; a voice to be listened to in the Christian and Moslem worlds; with its traditions in art preserved and fostered and with the beginnings of its own literature; a nation which is taking its place in a technological civilisation, with its own airways, its organs of mass communication, its research institutes.
>
> Millions of the people who live in this Nigeria of 1980 are already born. Under the present educational system more than half of them will never go to school. Like people elsewhere their talents

[23] *Teacher Education*, 1.2 (Nov. 1960), pp.1-4.
[24] *Final Report of Meeting of Ministers of Educ. at Addis Ababa*, U.N.E.S.C.O., 1962, paras. 1-2.

will vary from dulness to genius. Somehow, before 1980, as many talented children as possible must be discovered and educated if this vision of Nigeria is to be turned into reality. This is a stupendous undertaking. It will cost large sums of money. The Nigerian people will have to forego other things they want so that every available penny is invested in education. Even this will not be enough. Countries outside Nigeria will have to be enlisted to help with men and money. *Nigerian Education must for a time become an international enterprise.*[25]

If international enterprise was to work to the best possible effect, whether in Nigeria or in any other part of the continent, there must clearly be much more intensive research into the problems of African educational development. Such matters as child growth and development, reading difficulties, methods of teaching English and science, curriculum development, and the means of constructing inexpensive but serviceable school equipment and audio-visual aids, all called for careful consideration. Again, it was necessary to encourage the development of new ideas and new techniques in a situation of steadily-accelerating change. 'Long after the crash programmes have achieved their varied and necessary purpose,' judged one British university observer, 'the education of teachers coupled with educational research will remain a major concern and constitute to Africa an abiding guarantee . . . that its education is second to none in its high quality and, though distinctive and purposeful, is yet the peer of education everywhere in the world and carries the validity of universality.'[26]

The annual conferences of the Afro-Anglo-American Programme, normally held in one or other of the participating African university institutions, were used to direct attention to a number of key facets of educational development; they included, for instance, the teaching of English (Ibadan, 1962), the work of an Institute of Education (Dar es Salaam, 1968), and teacher education for socio-economic change (Nairobi, 1969). This method of approach was, in itself, significant as an attempt to lay much greater stress on considerations of quality, at a time when the quantitative aims of a rapid expansion of educational facilities still held sway over many African minds. Indeed, it might be seen as one of the earliest indications of a reaction in favour of quality which became evident during the deliberations of the fourth

[25] *Report of Commision on Post-School Cert. and Higher Educ. in Nigeria*, 1960, 0.3.
[26] *Teacher Education*, IV. 1 (May 1963), pp.1-4.

Commonwealth Education Conference at Lagos in 1968. A second important feature of the work of the Afro-Anglo-American Programme, much in evidence during its fifth conference, held on the campus of the University of Sussex during 1966, was an intention to encourage the integration of different development schemes operating in Africa, so as to achieve the greatest possible effect. It was recognised — to an extent not usual in projects for educational co-operation within the Commonwealth — that some measure of overall planning and co-ordination was necessary if more substantial progress was to be achieved. As a practical step in this direction the eighth annual conference met at Nairobi, in the premises of the Kenya Science Teachers' College, an institution which was supported by several non-Commonwealth bodies including the Swedish Government.[27] In this way, it seemed, a precedent was being set for the establishment of easier avenues of communication, and a clearer sense of common purpose, between different agencies responsible for educational aid to developing countries.

**Education for the 'Good Life' as envisaged by the Oxford Conference of 1959**

Experience gained in implementing the Colombo Plan also had an impact in encouraging further attempts at educational co-operation through the Commonwealth as a whole. As in the case of the Colombo Plan itself, Commonwealth interest in educational development tended to grow out of wider considerations of social and economic welfare. A conference held at Montreal during 1958, to consider ways of encouraging economic co-operation amongst the countries of the Commonwealth, agreed on the importance of education and training as 'an indispensable condition of development,' and expressed a resolution 'to help one another as much as lies in our power within this field.' Since the most urgent requirements in any programme of educational development seemed to be the supply and training of teachers, the conference agreed, in principle, to a proposal from the Canadian prime minister, John Diefenbaker, to establish a new scheme of Commonwealth scholarships and fellowships, and to hold a meeting early in the following year to work out arrangements for this and other forms of co-operation in education.[28]

[27] *Ibid.*, VII. 1 (May 1966), pp.1-4 and X.2 (Nov. 1969), pp.91-138. Carnegie sponsorship of the Afro-Anglo-American Programme ended in 1969. The Kenya Conference agreed to establish a successor organisation, 'The Association for Teacher Education in Africa.'

[28] Cmd. 539, *Report of Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conf.*, 1958, para.17.

Such were the origins of the first Commonwealth Education Conference, which met at Oxford during July 1959. At the opening plenary session, two main objectives were agreed upon as an essential part of the business to follow: to 'work out arrangements for the scheme of Commonwealth scholarships and fellowships;' and to 'review existing arrangements for co-operation between the countries of the Commonwealth in education generally, and to recommend in what way these could be improved or expanded, particularly in regard to the supply and training of teachers.'[29] However, it was also agreed that the successful prosecution of these objectives depended in large measure on a common understanding of the significance of education in the contemporary world, particularly in so far as it concerned the Commonwealth association. With this in mind, delegates went on to attempt a statement of certain principles which seemed to be fundamental to any future programmes of educational co-operation. The Commonwealth, it was affirmed, was a new experiment in human relationship, intended to achieve the 'good life,' material and spiritual, and the happiness of all its citizens:

> The good life and happiness can be attained only through education in the deeper and wider sense. Freedom from want demands the application of technical skills of ever-increasing complexity. The stability of our democratic way of life requires maturity of judgment in the citizen that can come only from a good general education. The increasing pace of development and the growing independence of modern society call for the highest intellectual and moral qualities. Above all it is through a balanced education that the individual must seek the fulfilment of his personality and the enrichment of his life.
>
> Education is thus fundamental to the strength and stability of the Commonwealth, and to social justice and human dignity which must be its inspiration. For this purpose the members of the Commonwealth must explore and develop their educational resources to the utmost extent. These resources naturally vary according to their economic and social development. The free association in the Commonwealth of countries which share a belief in the common principles of justice, a democratic way of life and personal freedom, affords a special opportunity for the pooling of resources. There is an obligation on those with more highly developed educational facilities to help their fellow members. But all races and peoples have made their character-

[29] Cmd. 841, *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1959, para.3.

istic contribution to the building up of knowledge, culture and values, and all have something to give. There are no frontiers to human knowledge; knowledge is not the exclusive prerogative of any nation or group of nations.[30]

It was proposed to make a concerted effort at interational co-operation to ensure that educational resources were in due course developed to the utmost possible extent. 'The members of the Commonwealth,' decided the Conference, 'can do more together and through willing co-operation than any of them can achieve alone.'[31] Certain constructive recommendations were put forward, therefore, as a basis for further action in the future.

First among these was an endorsement of the plans, already tentatively made by the Montreal Conference, for a Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship scheme. There were no grounds for anxiety on the extent of support from member countries, since a target set by the Montreal Conference for 1,000 awards current at any one time, had already been largely realised. Britain, for instance, had promised 500 awards, and Canada 250, and their example had been followed by a number of other countries. Nevertheless, there were important questions still to be answered concerning the qualifications to be demanded of candidates, the conditions under which their awards would be held, and the arrangements to be made between their own and receiving countries. After some discussion it was recommended that the majority of awards — to be termed *Commonwealth Scholarships* — should be made to men and women of 'high intellectual promise' who might be expected to make a significant contribution to the life of their own countries after their return from study overseas; these awards were normally to be made available at the postgraduate level only. A much smaller number of awards — to be known as *Commonwealth Visiting Scholarships* — were to be offered to 'senior scholars of established reputation and achievement' for advanced study in their particular specialist fields. In the case of both categories, the final selection of candidates was to be made by the receiving country, preferably on the recommendation



[30] *Ibid.*, paras.5-7.
[31] *Ibid.*, para.8.

of an independent agency set up to fulfil this function and to nominate candidates for the awards of other country.[32]

The scheme was once again in line with the main tradition of educational co-operation in the Commonwealth, which operated through a series of bilateral agreements within the framework of a wider international plan. It was intended to supplement, rather than to replace, any arrangements already in being. And it was sufficiently flexible in design to allow for any modifications which might prove necessary to fit the circumstances of individual countries.[33] All these advantages were found to be of considerable value in dealing with a variety of problems which appeared, perhaps predictably enough, during the years which followed.

Minor problems had to be resolved concerning time-tabling, since there was a tendency for individual countries to fix different closing dates for the receipt of applications. More serious considerations were raised by a shortage of candidates for scholarships offered by some of the newer Commonwealth countries; there was clearly a need for improved sources of information to ensure much wider understanding of the opportunities for research and study available in developing countries. At the same time, it became apparent that significant numbers of Commonwealth Scholars were anxious to read for the Ph.D. degree, thus requiring a longer period of study than the two years provided for under the terms of the scheme.[34] After a number of possible solutions to the problem had been considered by a second Commonwealth Education Conference in 1962, the United Kingdom Government decided to introduce certain changes in the regulations adopted for its own scholarships; the original limit of 500 awards at any one time was replaced by a more flexible requirement of an overall average of 500, thus allowing any uncompleted scholarships to be balanced against a

[32] *Ibid.*, paras.11-22. A United Kingdom Commonwealth Scholarship Commission, empowered to act on instructions from the Commonwealth Relations Secretary and the Colonial Secretary, was established in 1960. It was laid down that United Kingdom Scholarships would normally extend over two academic years, and Fellowships over one. Emoluments would include payment of fares to and from the United Kingdom, approved tuition fees, grants for books, clothing and travelling expenses within the United Kingdom, and a maintenance allowance. Cmd. 894, *Arrangements for Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan in the United Kingdom*, 1959, paras.3-6, 10 and 11.

[33] *Report of Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan*, 1960-1, pp.9-11.

[34] *Ibid.*, 1961-2, pp.7-8.

number of extensions for a third year of study.[35] Other, rather less soluble problems were presented by a discinclination on the part of many students to return home on the completion of their courses, usually because they wished to engage in further study, or because they now considered themselves to be over-qualified for careers in their own countries. Though Commonwealth educationalists were closely agreed on the undesirability of this state of affairs, which ran counter to all their hopes for a sharing of knowledge between the peoples of developed and developing countries, they were nevertheless at a loss for some means of dealing with it effectively. It was accepted that there could be no question of enforcing legal sanctions against any scholar, and that the authorities of nominating countries must be left to enforce return in whatever way possible.[36] Finally, there was a feeling, voiced occasionally by developing countries, that the scheme was unsuited to their immediate requirements, since they were much more in need of undergraduate than of graduate places.[37] Such a feeling was easy to understand in view of the desperate need of many developing countries for teachers and other professional people, though it probably took too little account of the benefits to be drawn from highly-qualified personnel of various kinds. Clearly, the ultimate value of the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship scheme depended largely on the speed with which newer countries could develop facilities for higher education and provide acceptable careers for those returning with advanced qualifications from abroad.

A second topic considered by the Commonwealth Education Conference of 1959 — and one which had also been raised by the Montreal Conference of one year before — concerned ways and means of increasing the supply of teachers. The problem was not merely one of numbers, though many more teachers were certainly needed at every level to meet the demands of expanding systems of education in virtually every Commonwealth country. There was a particularly acute shortage of teachers of science, mathematics and technical subjects, just those areas which were under-supplied in even the most advanced Commonwealth countries. Teachers of English as a second language — as distinct from teachers of English as a mother tongue — were also

[35] 11 *and* 12 *Eliz.* 2, *Ch.* 6, sec. 2. This measure amended an earlier Act, 8 *Eliz.* 2, *Ch.* 6, passed in 1959, which gave authority for United Kingdom participation in the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship scheme.

[36] *Report of Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan*, 1962-3, pp.9-10.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp.8-9.

scarce, because of lack of facilities to provide them with the specialised training which they needed. Moreover, the shortage of all types of teacher was magnified considerably in the countries of Africa.

Faced with difficulties on such a massive scale, delegates were realistic enough to accept the limitations of their position. 'No recommendation of the conference,' it was agreed, 'could change the position overnight.'[38] Yet they believed that much could be done by moving along two main lines of approach. First, there should be assistance with programmes of teacher education, mainly through the award of places for advanced courses and the loan of training staff by the more developed countries of the Commonwealth. Though, in the long run, all Commonwealth countries could be expected to satisfy their needs from their own resources alone, expatriate assistance must for the moment play the foremost part in building up programmes of training. An immediate example of the kind of action which the conference had in mind was provided by an offer from the Canadian Government to organise specialist teams for service abroad in training institutions.[39] During the year which followed, fourteen of these teams were deployed, with remarkable efficiency, in various parts of Africa, Asia and the West Indies.[40] In the second place, it was proposed that certain 'key posts' should be delineated, according to the special needs of each country, the filling of which was to receive concentrated attention from donor countries. In this matter, too, the ultimate objective was a position in which each Commonwealth country would be able to meet its basic requirements from its own educational resources alone.[41] Meanwhile, in order to encourage the recruitment of expatriate staff of suitable quality, the governments of older Commonwealth countries were urged to take steps to safeguard individual rights in such matters as promotion and superannuation, and re-settlement on completion of contract.[42]

Thus far, the extent and implications of planning undertaken by the Oxford Conference of 1959 had far surpassed anything contemplated by its predecessors, the Imperial Education Conferences of the earlier part of the century. In the face of much more urgent demands from new nations overseas, Commonwealth educationists had moved from permissive to frankly constructive attitudes in the matter of the exchange

[38] Cmd. 841, *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1959, para.36.
[39] *Ibid.*, paras.26 and 42.
[40] 'Educational Co-Operation,' in *C.S.*, VI.20 (27 Sept. 1960), pp.902-904.
[41] Cmd. 841, *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1959, para.36.
[42] *Ibid.*, para.38.

of teachers. Their call to governments for practical inducements to encourage service by highly-qualified personnel in developing countries contrasted favourably with more easy-going efforts to relax obstructive regulations during the 1920's. The arrangements for scholarships and assistance with teacher education represented an advance into areas never seriously considered by government agencies before the Second World War. Moreover, in addition, substantial progress was achieved towards one important objective repeatedly considered by delegates to the Imperial Education Conferences — the provision of permanent administrative machinery for educational co-operation between the countries of the Commonwealth. As at the earlier Imperial Conferences, there was considerable diversity of opinion, some delegates expressing support for an elaborate educational advisory service, whilst others wished to continue to rely on the tradition of bilateral arrangements between individual governments.[43] A compromise arrangement was eventually accepted. It was recommended that a committee should be set up in London, composed of one representative of each member country of the Commonwealth, and competent to act as a forum for the consideration of matters of general principle arising out of schemes for educational aid. A small administrative unit should also be established, under the direction of the committee, to act as a clearing-house of information, and to advise member countries concerning the most appropriate means of meeting their particular needs. Arrangements for this new machinery should, it was suggested, be worked out by a meeting of representatives of Commonwealth governments, to be held in London during October 1959.[44]

When the meeting duly took place, early in October, a large measure of agreement was evident with the conclusions reached by the Conference. It was decided to establish a Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee, with Philip Morris, Vice-Chancellor of Bristol University, as its first chairman. Under the auspices of the Committee, a Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit was set up during the following spring, with Dr V. S. Jha, former Vice-Chancellor of Benares

[43] See 'The Commonwealth Educ. Conf.,' in *Oversea Education.*, XXVII. 1 (April 1960), pp.30-36.

[44] Cmd. 841, *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1959, para.66 and Annex V, pp.64-65. Matters concerning the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan were excluded from the Unit's purview, since it had been agreed that these should be handled by the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth.

University, as first Director.[45] For the moment, at least, it was intended to restrict the Education Liaison Unit to the rather modest establishment envisaged for it by the Commonwealth Education Conference. There was no intention to make a radical departure from tradition by providing the Commonwealth with an expensive, and possibly over-centralised, administration for educational co-operation. Nevertheless, it was clear that the Unit might very well serve as a nucleus, capable of progressive expansion to deal with any new functions which it was thought desirable to lay upon it.

**Work of later Commonwealth Education Conferences; Establishment of The Commonwealth Secretariat**

Another significant decision by the Oxford Conference was to perpetuate its own deliberations, on the grounds that 'education must, for the future, be accepted as a matter of common concern throughout the Commonwealth.'[46] The convening of the second Commonwealth Education Conference to New Delhi, during January 1962 was therefore an indication that regular consultations between member countries were to become a feature of Commonwealth educational co-operation in the future. Much of the programme at New Delhi was given over to providing opportunities for an assessment of progress on the recommendations of the Oxford Conference — a productive exercise in itself since it revealed the capacity of Commonwealth countries to work closely together in complex programmes of educational development. There was evidence of greater confidence amongst delegates than three years before, notably in an eagerness to open up new areas of future activity. Attention was directed, for instance, to an acute shortage of text-books in nearly all developing countries, and to the need for an extension of existing arrangements such as the low-priced book scheme, under which Britain helped to provide university text-books in India.[47] A paper presented to the Conference by the Indian Government drew attention

[45] *K.C.A.*, 1959-60, f. 17471 D. An attempt to provide further assistance for the Unit's work was made by an all-party group of British Members of Parliament through the establishment of a Council for Education in the Commonwealth during December 1959. The Council's tasks were to 'create an informed public opinion inside and outside Parliament about the best means of reaching expeditiously the long-term goals set by the Commonwealth Education Conference,' and to 'encourage and further co-operation among the peoples of the Commonwealth in the common use of their educational resources.' *K.C.A.*, 1959-60, f. 17237 A.

[46] Cmd. 841, *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1959, para.70.

[47] Cmd. 1655, *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1962, paras. 49-55.

to a need for properly organised and directed programmes of social education, particularly in the developing countries; though little tangible progress was achieved during the discussions which followed, at least there was general agreement that new principles of informal education for adult pupils would have to be devised, in an effort to make up some of the ground lost by generations who had not been to school, and to assist the advance towards higher standards of living.[48] Much the same considerations applied to an attempt to establish new principles of rural education, a matter which concerned a very sizeable proporotion of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth.[49]

Social education and the education of rural communities both figured prominently in the deliberations of the next Commonwealth Education Conference, which met at Ottawa during August and September 1964. Delegates were forced to accept, albeit with considerable regret, that more extensive research was necessary before a series of operating principles could finally be produced. Yet special attention was given, apparently for the first time, to the problems of adult illiteracy, a matter which was seen, not so much as an end in itself, as an essential feature of any wider programme of community development.[50] Moreover, in selecting another new topic for discussion — the use of mass media in education — the Conference attempted to draw greater attention to the potentialities of audio-visual equipment which were not, as yet, being exploited to the best possible effect in many Commonwealth countries.[51]

The effect of these discussions was to give the Ottawa Conference a special significance as an indication of a movement to look more and more widely beyond the confines of formal education alone. It was becoming increasingly necessary to plan programmes of educational development, not through a series of contingency arrangements to meet particular areas of need, but against the background of the world situation as a whole. Future targets in the fields of primary, secondary and higher education would have to be carefully balanced against a variety of social and economic considerations affecting each of the communities concerned. However, no less important was a theme, running consistently through the Conference's discussions, that greater progress must be achieved in making developing countries masters of their own educational destinies. While expatriate teachers and experts would undoubtedly be needed in considerable numbers for a long time to come,

[48] *Ibid.*, paras. 56-62.
[49] *Ibid.*, paras.63-67.
[50] Cmd. 2545, *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1964, paras.41-47.
[51] *Ibid.*, paras. 48-51.

more must be done to recruit suitable persons into key positions, where they could increase the capacity of developing countries to generate their own teacher supply. The Conference also gave close attention to ways of evolving new types of secondary education specially suited to the needs of developing countries, notably in the construction of new curricula and the provision of special text-books.[52] Finally, in an attempt to get away from a situation in which the balance of educational assistance was heavily weighted on the side of the more developed countries of the Commonwealth, the delegates at Ottawa looked on to a new kind of international co-operation, based on a more reciprocal relationship. The developed countries could, it was considered, make much more extensive use of the facilities for research and specialised training which many developing countries had to offer.[53]

Arrangements for the establishment of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee and the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit, already carried into effect as a result of the recommendations of the Oxford Conference, were received with warm approval at both New Delhi and Ottawa. There was apparently no wish to make any fundamental change in the organisation or terms of reference of either body. However, a number of delegates to the Ottawa Conference put forward the view that machinery for the collection and dissemination of information should be expanded to provide a comprehensive reference service, manned by a more numerous specialist staff than had been contemplated so far [54].

These ideas were easier to put into practice after the establishment of the Commonwealth Secretariat during 1965, as the result of a suggestion made by President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference of that year. The concept of a centralised Secretariat was by no means new, having already provoked considerable discussion at the Colonial Conference of 1907.[55] Nevertheless, its adoption at this particular time represented a significant recognition, first that responsibility for co-ordinating the activities of Commonwealth co-operation could no longer be appropriately discharged by the civil service of the former colonial power, and second that many of these activities, by their nature, required the support of a wide variety of expert advice. For education, in particular, the new organisation provided opportunities for drawing on much greater re-

[52] *Ibid.*, paras. 13-16.
[53] *Ibid.*, para. 9.
[54] *Ibid.*, paras. 73-77.
[55] *A.R.*, 1965. p.61.

serves of administrative and specialist talent than had previously been available to the service of the Commonwealth. By a decision of the prime ministers, made in September 1966, the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit was integrated with the Secretariat as its Education Division. The change ensured a number of important advantages. It brought the educational staff into much more intimate relationship with several other aspects of Commonwealth co-operation carried on under the Secretariat's roof — a desirable situation in view of the Ottawa Conference's insistence that educational issues should be judged against a wider background of social and economic development. And it allowed the use, for educational purposes, of the Secretariat's well-developed facilities for servicing conferences of various kinds. This advantage was used to good effect during the early years of the Education Division's existence, through the organisation of a series of conferences on specialist topics — the education and training of technicians (Huddersfield, 1966), mathematics in schools (University of the West Indies, 1968), and education in rural areas (University of Ghana, 1970). Moreover, the Education Division was called upon to undertake new and exceedingly onerous responsibilities in the organisation of the fourth Commonwealth Education Conference, held at Lagos, during 1968.[56]

Two main themes, the importance of which was emphasised again and again at meetings of the whole Conference and of its committees, dominated the proceedings at Lagos. First was a growing realisation that *qualitative* aspects of educational development had perhaps received too little attention in the past, in the face of urgent demands for *quantitative* expansion in virtually every country of the Commonwealth. The choice between quality and quantity could scarcely fail to produce difficult, and indeed heart-rending problems for both educational planners and political leaders alike. They had to ask themselves how far they were prepared to support the legitimate educational aspirations of large sections of their people, at the expense of a more effective use of resources of human talent in the national interest. Understandably enough, the Lagos Conference did not attempt to lay down any firm principles for the solution of such a delicate question. But it was agreed that education programmes must be closely related to manpower planning and considerations of social and economical development, if they were to be used to the greatest possible effect.[57] A second theme was developed around the urgent necessity of organising well-

[56] *Report of Commonwealth Secretary-General*, 1966-68, pp.55-59, and 1968-70, p.32.
[57] *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1968, para. 4.

balanced programmes of agricultural education and of extending educational facilities among rural communities. Delegates were clearly of the opinion that both these matters must receive careful consideration in their own right, if future economic development were to move along smooth and uninhibited lines[58].

Even more important, however, were the repeated attempts made at the Lagos Conference to re-emphasise the role of education as an instrument of human development. Suggestions put forward by delegates called for more strenuous efforts in such fields as the expansion of training facilities, the provision of a Commonwealth book production scheme, and the study of curriculum development, adult education and literacy, including the use of new techniques suited to the needs of mass education[59]. The nature and extent of these proposals clearly carried important implications for the future work of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee and the Secretariat Education Division. It was the feeling of the Conference that there was still no need for a large central organisation, committed to the support of programmes of educational co-operation, and that arrangements should continue to be made as far as possible on a bilateral basis between individual governments. Yet there was also an awareness that the functions of the Secretariat would have to be considerably expanded in the future. More particularly, it was accepted that there was a need for the Secretariat to engage in some kind of analysis of educational developments in various parts of the Commonwealth, with a view to advising on their suitability elsewhere. With this in mind, a resolution of the Conference called for a modest expansion in the staff of the Education Division, to provide it with a wider range of specialist skills[60].

The fifth Commonwealth Education Conference which met at Sydney during February 1971 was called upon to consider a number of new areas of activity already suggested by the Commonwealth Heads of Government at their Singapore meeting one month before. A new dimension in Commonwealth educational co-operation seemed to be promised by a scheme for a multi-lateral Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-Operation, intended not only to support the provision of experts and consultants in a wide variety of fields, but also to meet the

[58] *Ibid.*, para.5.
[59] *Ibid.*, para.7.
[60] *Ibid.*, paras.9-15. The recommendations of a Working Party, subsequently endorsed by the Conference, provided for the appointment of an Assistant Director to relieve the Director of some of the day-to-day administration, and for a modest expansion of staff at the professional level.

cost of training personnel from one developing country in another. The scheme could be expected to provide an important addition to existing training facilities, whether in the professional, technical or vocational fields. Yet, more important still, was an intention to make much more effective use of training facilities in developing countries themselves. The result might be to draw developing countries together in some closer relationship, perhaps along regional lines, and also to break down the psychological barrier which still divided 'donor' from 'recipient' countries[61].

Another new topic, also discussed by the Heads of Government at the Singapore meeting, was the need to give much closer attention to the problems of youth, in face of rising world unemployment and a drift from the countryside into the towns. It seemed that the work of the Secretariat Education Division, and the discussions of future Commonwealth Education Conferences, would be increasingly concerned with a range of youth activities, outside the scope of formal education[62]. Finally, the Sydney Conference was required to turn its attention to a matter of a very different kind, in examining the progress of the Special Commonwealth Programme for Assisting the Education of Rhodesian Africans. The Programme was motivated more by political than by educational considerations, having been established by the Heads of Government Conference at Lagos in 1966, called to take measures against an assumption of independence by the white minority in Southern Rhodesia. Two separate schemes of assistance were arranged at Lagos. The first was an immediate plan for scholarships available to those qualified Rhodesian Africans already outside Rhodesia who were not receiving assistance. During the years which followed several hundred applicants were placed in institutions of special technical and professional courses for Rhodesian Africans once the dispute had ended.[63] Each meant an additional burden of educational activity, both for the Secretariat, and for the particular Commonwealth governments concerned.

Despite so many new ventures, it would seem that the Sydney Conference was seen by many delegates as marking the end of a phase of educational development, and as providing an appropriate opportunity to take stock of what had been accomplished over the previous decade or so. There was clearly much cause for satisfaction. The two main programmes inaugurated at the Oxford Conference — the Common-

[61] *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1971, paras. 7-9.
[62] *Ibid.*, paras.10-12.
[63] *Ibid.*, paras.16-18, and *Report of Commonwealth Secretary-General*, 1966-68, pp.61-62.

wealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan and schemes for the supply of teachers and educational experts — had been maintained in operation, with only minor modifications judged necessary in the light of experience. The Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee and the Secretariat Education Division had emerged as a nucleus, capable of taking on an increasing variety of specialist functions. Finally, the Education Conference itself, having met successively in Commonwealth capitals in all five continents, had already established a tradition of informed discussion and easy give-and-take, such as was rarely equalled by other international gatherings, whether within the Commonwealth or outside.

Criticisms were by no means lacking. It was suggested that delegates to the Conference had all been nominated by governments, and were therefore easily amenable to carrying out the policities of their political masters; that the same projects and ideas had been trotted out at Conference after Conference without any substantial increase in financial support; that — with the exception of plans put before the Lagos Conference by the Indian delegation and never carried into effect[64] — there had been no attempt to measure up the educational needs of Commonwealth countries as a whole, and to devise a master plan[65]. The first of these criticisms obviously varied in justification from country to country, as governments differed in their attitude to the inclusion of independent experts in delegations which were sent overseas at public expense; no doubt the financial difficulties of the late 1960s forced many of them to be less generous than they would otherwise have wished; moreover, in any case, the Sydney Conference was notable in that observers were present, for the first time, from such kindred organisations as U.N.E.S.C.O., the Association of Commonwealth Universities, and the Commonwealth Foundation[66]. However, the two further criticisms struck deep at the bases of Commonwealth co-operation, not only in education, but in many other fields as well. The Commonwealth had never developed a centralised administrative structure, capable of providing a comprehensive service of planning and direction for member

[64] The Indian delegation's projected programme included book development; building up centres of excellence at the levels of secondary and university education; pilot projects for functional literacy and adult education; science education; educational research and experimentation. The Conference decided to refer the proposals for examination to the Secretariat Education Division. *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1968, para.8.

[65] See 'Life for Tired Horses,' in *T.E.S.*, No. 2907 (5 Feb. 1971), p.1.

[66] The Commonwealth Foundation was established at London during December 1965.

countries. It had invariably functioned through a series of bilateral arrangements, designed to make no interference with the full enjoyment of national rights of sovereignty and independence. All that Commonwealth Education Conferences could be expected to do, therefore, was to make the most effective use of these arrangements as they found them. To have attempted more might well have threatened the informal relationship on which developed and developing countries found it possible to do business together.

**Britain's Aid to Former Dependent Territories**

Britain, meanwhile, had been modifying the nature and extent of her programmes of overseas aid to meet the needs of former dependent territories in the early years of independence. The Commonwealth Secretary, Lord Home, in announcing to the Montreal Conference his country's willingness to provide half the places offered under the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, gave some indication of the principles which would determine future British investment in education overseas. Britain, he declared, in view of her considerable experience of educational construction in developing territories, would concentrate the bulk of her effort in two main areas of activity — technical instruction and teacher education[67].

These two objectives continued to play a leading part in British programmes of educational co-operation during the years which followed. The Queen's Speech opening a new session of Parliament on 27 October 1959 indicated that 'the improvement of conditions of life in the less developed countries of the world' would remain an 'urgent concern' of the United Kingdom Government[68]. A White Paper published shortly afterwards not only set out plans for a substantial expansion in the number of places available to overseas students in technical colleges — which it was hoped to increase by 70% before 1970 — but also included inducements to encourage British industry to accept more overseas personnel for practical training[69]. More important still was the establishment, by Act of Parliament during 1961, of a Department of Technical Co-Operation, charged with the co-ordination and extension of existing British programmes for overseas technical aid[70]. The new Department was not intended to take over the direction of individual

[67] *K.C.A.*, 1957-8, f. 16444 B.
[68] Cmd. 974, *Assistance from United Kingdom for Overseas Development*, 1960, para.1.
[69] *Ibid.*, para.20.
[70] 9 *and* 10 *Eliz.* 2, *Ch.* 30.

programmes, whether from other goverment authorities, or from private agencies of various kinds. But it was designed to provide the advantages of a central planning organisation, capable of taking an overview of every aspect of technical co-operation, and of a single channel of communication, through which all requests could be made[71]. At the same time, British administrators made full use of the opportunity to produce a new definition of technical aid. Henceforward, the term was to be broad enough to include a wide variety of educational activities:

> What we are aiming to do is to co-operate with other countries when asked in educating their men and women, developing their national resources, raising their standards of living and building up their institutions and services. Technical aid includes bringing people from overseas to Britain for education and training supplying qualified and experienced men and women to teach, help and work overseas, and advise, research and investigate to help overcome the difficulties which block the paths of those countries to better and more prosperous living.[72]

Indeed, British policy was already firmly based on the belief that technical aid must form part of a much wider exercise in international co-operation. In perfect consistency with the principles laid down under the scheme of the Colombo Plan, it was intended to encourage the development of programmes of mutual aid, as a means of ensuring 'a joint assault upon the barriers of progress by the giver of aid and the receiver.' Such a strategy could hardly fail to bring important benefits to all the parties concerned. For Britain herself, it would mean that her men and women working in developing countries abroad would be provided with incomparable opportunities for gaining new knowledge and experience. For the developing countries, it would open up ways of supplementing British aid from local resources, and, perhaps more important, of acquiring a legitimate sense of pride in schemes which were due, in part at least, to their own efforts. The vital importance of this last consideration was clearly perceived by senior British officials. 'Charity,' declared a government document, 'would be undervalued and even resented or despised; *men cherish most the progress for which they*

[71] Cmd. 1698, *Technical Co-Operation: a Progress Report*, 1962, paras. 9-10. A Council for Technical Education and Training for Overseas Countries was established during 1962 to provide expert advice and assistance to both the Department of Technical Co-Operation and private bodies. See *C.S.*, VIII. 7 (27 Mar. 1962), pp.281-2.

[72] Cmd. 1698, para.6.

*have themselves had to work hardest.*'[73] It was manifestly necessary to unite the peoples of countries in many different stages of social and economic development in a common endeavour for human betterment. And, in giving their support to such a venture, British officials were helping forward a far-reaching development in Commonwealth educational co-operation, which took shape in the establishment of the Fund for Technical Co-Operation in 1971.

The British White Paper of 1959 also revealed an intention to accelerate the rate of supply of teachers overseas. 'Education,' it was affirmed, is an indispensable condition of development . . . even more important than money is the personal contribution of trained men and women — the supply of teachers and other educational experts from the United Kingdom and the provision here of facilities for training teachers and others from overseas.'[74] As immediate evidence of intent, £5 million was to be spent during the next five years on measures to recruit British teachers for service overseas, whilst 400 additional places for overseas students were to be provided at British training institutions[75].

Any large-scale increase in the numbers of candidate teachers coming to Britain from overseas could hardly fail to produce problems, of a number of different kinds. The early 1960s were marked in Britain, as in many other Western countries, by an acute shortage of teachers, particularly at the upper secondary levels. Training institutions were therefore already working under pressure, in an effort to satisfy the demand. Again, the tradition of training teachers for service overseas was not well established in Britain, with the single notable exception of the London University Department of Education in Tropical Areas. British Colonial policy, as laid down during the 1920s, had sought to provide facilities for higher education as far as possible in close association with the communities which they served. There was, therefore, an urgent need to establish some new kind of machinery, capable of directing overseas students into courses and institutions best suited to their requirements. For the moment, at any rate, government decided to work through the British Council, an organisation which had already begun to devote an increasingly large share of its attention to education in Commonwealth countries. The Council was made the agent of the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office in such important personal matters as the payment of students' fees and allow-

[73] *Ibid.*, para.7.
[74] Cmd. 974, *Assistance from United Kingdom for Overseas Development*, 1960, para.17.
[75] *Ibid.*, para.20.

ances, and the general surveillance of their welfare in the United Kingdom. A Commonwealth Bursary Unit was established to carry out the work of placing students. At the same time arrangements were made for selected members of the staffs of United Kingdom training institutions to visit parts of the Commonwealth, in order to study the backgrounds from which their students came.[76]

No less difficult problems concerned the attempt to recruit British teachers for service overseas. With the run-down of the Colonial Empire, there was no longer a demand for long-term career education officers, as supplied by the Colonial Education Service. Instead, British officials found themselves called on to provide much larger numbers of teachers and educational experts, on an essentially short-term basis. One possible means of meeting the demands of the situation might have been found through a more concerted effort at Commonwealth co-operation. At the Oxford Conference of 1959, proposals for a Commonwealth Education Service had been put forward by the representatives of Ghana and Nigeria, and received with considerable enthusiasm by other delegates. During the years which followed, the idea was taken up by a number of British sympathisers notably Joe Grimond and George Thompson in the House of Commons, and the authors of a pamphlet, *Teachers for the Commonwealth: the British Contribution.*[77] Yet it was clear that British educationists, no matter how altruistic their motives might happen to be, were in no position to thrust any kind of machinery for a more centralised control of educational co-operation upon the other Commowealth members. To have attempted to do so, would have run the risk of arousing suspicions of a design to assert overall administrative control from London. And, in the event, the majority of Commonwealth governments showed themselves anxious to continue to work through the traditional bilateral relationships, on which the Commonwealth association was founded.[78]

British officials were forced to operate, therefore, through their own resources alone. Amongst their most formidable difficulties were the scarcity of teachers with suitable qualifications, particularly in the sciences and in the teaching of English as a second language; a popular, if apparently unsubstantiated belief that the demand for teachers in Commonwealth countries would evaporate quickly in a few years;

[76] Cmd. 1032, *Commonwealth Educational Co-Operation*, 1960, pa. as.6-7.
[77] M. Elphick and R. Manley, *Teachers for the Commonwealth: the British Contribution*, London, Political and Economic Planning, 1964.
[78] *T.E.S.*, No. 2570 (21 Aug. 1964), p.252, and No. 2603 (9 April 1965), p.1094.

the complex nature of United Kingdom educational administration resulting in a multiplicity of authorities which employed teachers; an understandable reluctance on the part of many local authorities to release teachers for service overseas in face of the problems which they themselves faced in filling many posts.

Nevertheless, there was no sign of hesitancy. In a speech before a special meeting of representatives of teachers' associations and of central and local government officials, on 23 February 1960, the Minister of Education, Sir David Eccles, announced the start of a national campaign to recruit teachers for service overseas. Some of the measures which he proposed were revolutionary, in that they were intended to sweep away many of the main difficulties which had bedevilled attempts at teacher exchange for many years before. A National Council for the Supply of Teachers Overseas was to be established to bring together representatives of all bodies concerned in the matter. A code of secondment was to be devised to safeguard the teacher's rights of superannuation and eventual re-employment in his own country, whilst certain basic conditions of service were to be guaranteed by the overseas governments. As a means of ensuring that teachers would not suffer financially through accepting appointments in some of the less affluent countries, the British Government proposed to provide up to £700,000 per annum to supplement their emoluments. Furthermore, material considerations apart, vigorous efforts were to be made to make British teachers aware of the advantages which might accrue to their work through a period of service in one or more Commonwealth countries abroad.[79]

More elaborate details of the scheme were worked out during the years which followed. It became apparent that there was no intention that large numbers of teachers should be involved. Indeed, the optimum was fixed at 75 during 1960, rising to 135 in 1963. Assuming an average contract of three years' service, this meant that a total of some 400 United Kingdom teachers would be working in Commonwealth countries once arrangements were operating to their maximum extent. The main intention of British administrators was, in fact, to meet the demand of developing countries for highly-qualified specialist teachers of various kinds. In conformity with the recommendations of the first Commonwealth Education Conference at Oxford in 1959, they concentrated on the recruitment of persons to fill 'key' posts, whether

[79] 'Teachers for the Commonwealth,' in *C.S.*, VI.6 (15 Mar. 1960), pp.231-2.

in schools, teachers' colleges or technical institutions, where local candidates were not yet available in adequate numbers .Particular attention was given to the supply of teachers capable of organising courses in English as a second language, a field in which United Kingdom educationists were endeavouring to acquire a special competence[80].

British educational strategy was apparently already seeking to lay heavy emphasis on ways of assisting developing countries to increase their own teacher supply, even before this matter was highlighted by the Ottawa Conference of 1964. After Ottawa, British educationists experimented with several new approaches to the task of providing specialist assistance in teacher education. Sometimes these consisted of arrangements specially intended to meet the needs of particular territories, as in the case of the 'Teachers for East Africa Scheme,' agreed at Mombasa during January 1964[81]. Sometimes they took the form of short-term visits by parties of British teachers during the long vacation. A beginning was made during 1965 when a number of teachers' college lecturers and senior school teachers took part in a variety of courses in Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Zambia, Swaziland and Jamaica[82]. These 'Ashby-type' courses as they were styled — because the idea had originated in a suggestion by the Ashby Commission for Nigeria in 1960 — provided a new range of interesting possibilities, whether in the provision of intensive courses suited to the needs of particular communities, or in the passing on of new knowledge and techniques of various kinds. However, it was necessary to proceed with caution; without adequate opportunities for follow-up procedures, conducted by the same visiting instructors, the educational value of the courses was likely to be very limited indeed[83].

Meanwhile, early in 1965, a newly-returned Labour administration took a far-reaching, and perhaps long overdue, step in the direction of greater co-ordination and effectiveness in the organisation of overseas aid. It was decided to establish a new Ministry of Overseas Develop-

[80] *C.S.*, VI.11 (24 May 1960), pp.455-6. 'Aces'—high-level experts in Aid to Commonwealth English—were in considerable demand. The British Government's original offer of thirty was doubled at the Ottawa Conference of 1964. *T.E.S.*, No. 2599 (5 Mar. 1965), pp.657-663.

[81] Under the terms of the scheme the Governments of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda asked the United Kingdom and the United States to supply twenty experts in teacher education for each of the three territories.

[82] J. K. Thompson, 'New Emphasis in Teacher Supply,' in *T.E.S.*, No. 2599 (5 Mar. 1965), p.662.

[83] See J. M. Wilson, 'Vacation Courses', in *Teacher Education*, V.2 (Nov. 1964), pp.109-120.

ment, with responsibility for all British aid programmes overseas, whether on a bilateral or multi-lateral basis, and whether within or outside the Commonwealth. The Ministry therefore found itself invested with a wide range of functions previously carried out by the Commonwealth Relations Office, Colonial Office and certain other departments[84]. It also absorbed the Department of Technical Co-Operation, set up in 1961. The effect of the change was to provide the British authorities — well ahead of the declaration in favour of more integrated programmes made by the Afro-Anglo-American Programme conference during the following year — with effective machinery for long-term planning, over the field of overseas development as a whole. As one official document explained:

British and any other aid will be most effective where it forms an integral part of a coherent and co-operative effort to implement a well-prepared development plan. If there are several donors helping one country and they are following different objectives in giving aid, or their efforts are not properly co-ordinated, either with one country or with those of the country receiving aid, development will not be most effectively achieved. Our contribution will have the best opportunity to accelerate development either where it is big enough to play an effective part in the development process, or where there are satisfactory arangements for the co-ordination of all donors' aid both with each other and with the efforts of the country receiving aid[85].

At the same time as it carried through these changes in administrative machinery, the British Government made use of the opportunity to engage in yet one further examination of the general principles underlying the provision of overseas aid. The basis of all aid, declared an official statement of policy, was essentially *moral*, in that Britain had accepted an obligation to play her part in helping the less developed countries of the world towards a more rewarding way of life. She recognised that the former territories of the Colonial Empire had a particular claim on her resources. However, it was admitted that overseas aid could also be in *political* terms. The programmes to which

[84] The only important exceptions were that the Colonial Office remained responsible, in consultation with the Ministry of Overseas Development, for budgeting aid to dependent territories, whilst the Treasury continued to bear chief responsibility for British relations with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

[85] Cmd. 2736, *Overseas Development: the Work of the New Ministry*, 1965, para.6. As part of a further measure of centralisation, carried out by a Conservative Government during 1970, the Ministry of Overseas Development was absorbed into the Foreign and Commonwealth Office as the Overseas Development Administration.

it gave rise provided some of the most important points of contact between nations in the contemporary world. They might be used as a means of ensuring against political tensions, and they might, equally, become a cause of friction with friendly nations, at least for a time. Yet the continued existence of widespread poverty in a world of rapidly-growing wealth must cause discontent and unrest, to which programmes of development seemed to provide the only possible answer[86]. There were, too, economic considerations to be borne in mind, since even the most advanced countries must benefit from an increase in the incomes of developing countries, thus leading to a general expansion of international trade[87]. These were all matters which no responsible government could fail to consider in the interests of its own people. Nevertheless, they should not be allowed to detract from the central importance of the humanitarian objectives, which successive British administrations had kept in view: 'We give aid because in the widest sense we believe it to be in our own interest to do so as a member of the world community. We recognise that it is in the nature of aid that we should accept an economic sacrifice when giving it . . . . This does not mean that the present economic sacrifices cannot yield benefits to us in the future. It means that these benefits should not be the main motivation for giving aid and that they must not conflict with development[88].' It may well have seemed, in the conditions of the mid-twentieth century, that the borderlines between national and humanitarian considerations were becoming increasingly difficult to decide.

**Pragmatism for an age of Rapid Development; Gandhi and Nyerere**

It was not one of the functions of international aid to lay down any ideological precepts, which participant countries would be expected to follow. In each developing country, educationists were required to choose their own philosophic guide-lines, suited to the kind of society which they were attempting to bring into being. Sometimes they might derive some assistance from the ideas which British administrators, like Lugard and Guggisberg, had formed about the needs of the communities in which they served. Yet there were limits to the understanding with which expatriate observers, however well-intentioned, could appreciate the aims and aspirations of peoples once they had gained unrestricted control of their own affairs.

[86] *Ibid.*, para.2.
[87] *Ibid.*, para.7.
[88] *Ibid.*, para.8.

Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948), working in India during the last few decades of British rule, was probably the first and most influential Commonwealth educationist who sought to provide the ideals for a new system of education in his country after independence had been won. His educational theories were by no means new. They were closely in line with the ideals of polytechnical education already enunciated by Lenin and other political leaders in Soviet Russia, and by a number of earlier European thinkers, including Jan Comenius and Francis Bacon. But they undoubtedly represented a revolutionary new departure from Indian educational tradition. As a man who took an intensely practical view of affairs, Gandhi's special genius lay in his ability to point out simple, straightforward and convincing solutions to a variety of intricate problems.

Gandhi's educational ideas were the result, partly of his wide contacts with political and economic life, partly of his own practical experience in running a school for Indian children at Phoenix and Tolstoy Farms in the Transvaal[89]. He reached the conclusion that the formal academic type of education, organised by nineteenth-century British administrators in India, had failed to meet the needs of his own people. It had been not only wasteful, but also harmful in that pupils had been torn away from their parents and the traditional occupations to which they had been born: 'They pick up evil habits, affect urban ways, and get a smattering of something which may be anything but education[90].'

In an attempt to eradicate these evils, and offer an alternative programme more suited to Indian needs, Gandhi published a series of provocative articles in his paper, *Harizan*. Then, during October 1937, he placed his ideas before a conference of educationists and political leaders, meeting at Wardha, near Nagpur. At the request of this conference a detailed scheme of primary education was prepared by a committee of educationists sitting under the chairmanship of Dr Zakir Husain[91].

The Wardha Scheme of education, representing as it did the salient features of Ghandi's educational philosophy, made a considerable impact on Indian life, and encouraged Indian educationists, during the years which followed, to think along new and increasingly progressive lines. Education, as Gandhi saw it, was 'an all-round drawing out of

[89] See B. R. Nanda, *Mahatma Gandhi*, London 1958, pp.74-6.
[90] J. K. Shukla, 'Mahatma Gandhi's Educational Plan,' in *T.E.S.*, No. 171 (14 Feb. 1948), pp.178-9.
[91] B. R. Nanda, p.206.

the best in child and man — body, mind and spirit.' Literacy, he considered, was merely one of a number of means towards the accomplishment of this end — indeed, literacy in itself is no education.' He did not accept that literacy was, in any sense, knowledge in itself, but merely the symbolical representation of the sources of knowledge and of accomplished ignorance. It was the chief aim of the Wardha Scheme (or the Segaon Method as Indian educationists sometimes called it), to keep these sources of knowledge alive. The means of doing so were work, observation, experience, experiment, service and love, all necessary accompaniments to any attempt to approach learning through books.[92]

However, perhaps the most significant feature of Gandhi's scheme was his insistence that any sound system of education must produce useful citizens. This he proposed to do mainly through vocational and manual training, since he had a firm appreciation of the dignity of labour: 'If the future citizens of the state are to build a sure foundation for life's work, the modulation of the voice is as necessary as the training of the hand. Physical drill, handicrafts, drawing and music should go hand in hand in order to draw the best out of children and create in them a real interest in their tuition.'[93]

In his approach to teaching methodology, Gandhi took up a position which was strikingly similar to that adopted by Soviet educationists at about the same time. He believed it was best to impart the whole art and science of a craft through manual training, thereby relating classroom instruction as nearly as possible to the needs of everyday life:

> A carpenter teaches me carpentry, I shall learn it mechanically from him, and as a result I shall know the use of various tools; but that will hardly develop my intellect. But if the same thing is taught me by one who has taken a scientific training in carpentry he will stimulate my intellect as well . . . For the expert will have taught me mathematics, will have told me the difference between the different kinds of timber and where they came from, thus giving me a knowledge of geography, and also a little knowledge of agriculture. He will also have taught me to draw models of my tools and given me a knowledge of elementary geometry and arithmetic.[94]

The Wardha Scheme did not escape without criticism from many of Gandhi's countrymen. It was said that it would mean the sacrifice

[92] J. K. Shukla, pp.178-9.
[93] *Ibid.*
[94] *Ibid.*

of academic training to practical work; that it would change the role of the teacher into that of a taskmaster; that it was based only on the needs of the primary school in a rural setting, without regard to the functions of higher education.[95] Such criticisms were perhaps unnecessarily harsh in view of Gandhi's manifest intention to build a bridge between theoretical knowledge and practical work. And in any case they tended to miss the heart of the matter. By taking his stand on a pragmatist philosophy, as a means of finding a new and realistic approach to the problems of educational development in his own country, Gandhi was providing an example which educationists in other developing countries could hardly fail to follow.

One of those who found himself in a position to carry broadly similar principles into action in an independent Commonwealth state was Julius Nyerere, first President of Tanzania. Nyerere's educational ideas were, in fact, a logical extension of the principles of socialism and self-reliance embodied in the Arusha Declaration, a statement of policy accepted by Tanzania's ruling party, the African National Union on 29 January 1967. The content of the Declaration was very largely the work of Nyerere himself. Recognising that Tanzania's hopes of future prosperity were linked inescapably with agricultural development, it called on farmers to make vigorous efforts to raise production, through the virtues of industry and intelligent thinking: 'Tanzanians can live well without depending on help from outside if they use their land properly. Land is the basis of human life and all Tanzanians should use it as a valuable investment for future development.'[96]

Significantly, the theme of the first of a series of 'post Arusha' policy directives issued by Nyerere during the years which followed was education. Since, he decided, systems of education, whether in Western, Communist or colonial societies, were invariably designed to meet the special needs of the communities which they served, it followed that Tanzania's educational institutions must be adapted to the kind of self-reliant socialist society which her political leaders were attempting to bring into being. Economic limitations for the moment precluded any sizeable increase in the amount of money which could be spared for education. The achievement of universal primary education, let alone wider opportunities for secondary and higher education, was out of the question for the foreseeable future. Indeed, like many other develop-

[95] B. R. Nanda, p.208.
[96] J. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, Dar es Salaam 1968, p.247.
[97] *Ibid.*, pp.279-280.

ing countries, Tanzania faced a choice between serving the individual aspirations of a few, or designing a system of education capable of meeting the demands of the community as a whole. In Nyerere's view, the choice was obvious. 'For a socialist state', he decided, 'only the latter is really possible.'[97]

In common with Gandhi, Nyerere believed in a technological form of education, specially adapted to the needs of rural society. But he aimed at more sweeping changes in the organisation and structure of school life. Instruction given in primary schools was no longer to be simply a preparation for secondary schooling, but 'a complete education in itself.' In the same way, secondary schools were not to be simply a selection process for universities teachers' colleges and kindred institutions, but an effective preparation for life and service in a rural setting. 'In Tanzania,' said Nyerere, 'the only true justification for secondary education is that it is needed by the few for service to the many.'[98]

He believed that the school curriculum should no longer be determined by the things professional people and administrators needed to know, but by the everyday skills and values required in a socialist and predominantly rural society. His main intention was to satisfy the needs of the majority, and in doing so he had no fears that the interests of the academically-talented minority would in any way be overlooked. 'The purpose,' he explained, 'is not to provide an inferior education to that given at present. The purpose is to provide a different education — one realistically designed to fulfil the common purpose of education in the particular society of Tanzania[99].' Pupils at every educational level were to be required to make a substantial contribution to the life of their local community, taking such part in agricultural tasks and responsibilities as their health and experience would permit.

As a necessary corollary to this pragmatic approach to the school curriculum, there were to be changes in the way schools were run, so as to integrate them more completely in the life of Tanzanian society. Each school community must be made to realise that its life and well-being depended on the production of wealth, whether through agriculture or through other industrial activities. This meant that all schools must be required to contribute towards their own upkeep, by establishing farms and workships to produce food for the community, and to

[98] *Ibid.*, p.281.
[99] *Ibid.*, p.282.
[100] *Ibid.*, p.282.

earn money towards defraying other expenses. Significantly, unlike other protagonists of polytechnical education, Nyerere did not intend that the farm and workship should be used simply for purposes of training. His thinking went very much further. He proposed 'that every school should also be a farm; that the school community should consist of people who are both teachers and farmers, and pupils and farmers[100].' In this way alone would pupils and teachers alike come to assume the same attitudes of self-reliance being demanded of the rural community as a whole.

Far-reaching changes would have to be made in the Western-style school calendar, still in operation in Tanzania. It might be necessary to arrange school holidays on a rota system to ensure that enough hands were always available for agricultural duties. Examination results — even at university level — must be set against the candidate's record of service to the community. In short, many long-standing customs and prejudices would have to be broken down:

> This is a break with our educational tradition, and unless its purpose and its possibilities are fully understood by teachers and parents, it may be resented at the beginning. But the truth is that it is not a regressive measure, nor a punishment either for teachers or pupils. It is a recognition that we in Tanzania have to work our way out of poverty, and that we are all members of the one society, depending upon each other[101].

At first sight certainly, Nyerere's commitment to a thorough-going form of polytechnical instruction at every level of the educational system might seem immeasurably more revolutionary than Gandhi's plans for a new primary school curriculum — at any rate to European eyes. Yet such a view would be based on an insufficient understanding of the African environment in which he moved. Nyerere was merely seeking to re-emphasise those traditional values of African society — the equality of all forms of human life and the subordination of the interests of the individual to those of the community at large — which had been weakened, but never completely effaced, by the influence of Western colonial rule. Much the same ideals were being put forward from a different standpoint, in neighbouring Zambia, by President Kenneth Kaunda, whose aim was to 'build a man-centred society in accordance with the philosophy of humanism[102].' 'I believe,' wrote Kaunda, 'that Man must be the servant of a vision which is bigger than himself . . . When

[101] *Ibid.*, p.283.
[102] J. M. Mwanakatwe, *Educ. in Zambia*, Lusaka 1968, p.x.

Man learns, by bitter experience if in no other way, that the only hope for the peace and happiness of the world is to give political and economic expression to love for others we shall have entered not the Kingdom of Man but the Kingdom of God[103].' Through the revival and re-adaptation of the ideals of their own ancient cultures, African leaders were preparing the way for the revolution of new educational institutions, specially suited to the needs of their peoples in the modern world; and in doing so, they were providing an example of the kind of development towards which policies of Commonwealth educational co-operation had been aimed for many years before.

[103]K. D. Kaunda, *A Humanist in Africa*, London 1966, p.39.

## CHAPTER 4

## ADULT EDUCATION

### A Widening Educational Gap between Developed and Developing Countries; Education for Political Responsibility

Programmes of educational development in the Commonwealth were for the most part carried out against a background of far-reaching social and economic change. From the 1920s on, new advances in science and technology, and the introduction of new media of mass communication, began to make increasingly heavy demands on education at every level. According to one estimate, the fund of new knowledge at the disposal of mankind doubled between 1900 and 1950; then it *doubled again* between 1950 and 1960! Most of this new knowledge was concerned with developments in the more highly industrialised countries of Europe and North America.[1] Yet the implications were considerable and world-wide. On the one hand educationists in the more highly-developed countries were faced with an ever intensifying need to keep curricula and programmes of instruction up to date. On the other hand their colleagues in the developing countries found themselves threatened by a situation in which the educational gap which separated them from the advanced countries grew steadily wider year by year.

Solutions to these problems were unlikely to be found within systems of formal education alone. Indeed, the traditional distinction between formal and non-formal education was already breaking down in the face of an almost universal need for continuation courses of many kinds. One of the earliest attempts to point the way to new and revolutionary approaches to the organisation of public instrutcion came from a World Conference on Adult Education, meeting at Cambridge during 1929. The sponsors of the Conference — the World Association for Adult Education — were apparently chiefly interested in the extension of educational facilities among industrial workers in the older Dominions of Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Yet their deliberations provided an opportunity for many wider issues to be discussed. As the Bishop of Plymouth, Dr J. H. B. Masterman, reminded delegates, 'our times are new, and new conceptions are needed, else we fail of our possibilities and even of our necessities.' There was therefore a need for 'a new and more adequate conception of education itself . . . in which educa-

[1] B. Holmes, *Problems in Education*, London 1966, p.264.

tion is seen as inherent in expanding life.' It was no longer reasonable to think of schooling as primarily a preparation for later years; rather must life be seen as one continuous whole, 'with education as the name we give to the continuing process of building up and refining the organism through ever new and more delicately adequate behaviour.' Continuing education, moreover, having the advantage of being less traditional and stereotyped in form, could be expected to show particular resilience in adapting itself to the complex problems and changing situations of the modern age[2].

Though the World Conference of 1929 did not attempt anything more than a general statement of principles, it nevertheless had the effect of directing the attention of educationists throughout the Commonwealth towards kinds of activity which had been only dimly appreciated before. Already in 1929, the appointment of the first Jeanes Teachers in British East and Central Africa had provided an example of a practical attempt to raise living standards amongst native rural communities. The idea had originated with the establishment of a fund by Miss Anna Jeanes, a wealthy Philadelphian Quaker, for the purpose of training negro 'demonstrators' to assist the work of community development in the United States. Not long after the publication of the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, the Trustees of the Jeanes Fund agreed to join with the Carnegie Corporation of New York in a project for extending this work to certain parts of East and Central Africa. Jeanes training schools were established in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, whilst in Southern Rhodesia the government industrial school at Domboshawa, and the London Missionary Society's centre at Hope Fountain, became training schools for men and women respectively[3]. The work of the Jeanes Teachers raised a variety of questions concerning the advisability of providing further opportunities for adult education among communities which still remained largely isolated from the influences of the outside world.

Some of these questions were considered by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies in the course of a *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities*, published during 1935. The ground covered by the Memorandum was somewhat limited in extent, since there was no attempt to consider the more advanced forms of training for adult pupils. Nor, indeed, was anything said concerning the organisation of industrial instruction in towns, since the members of the Com-

[2] *Report of World Conference on Adult Education*, 1929, pp.68-71.
[3] R. Grey, *The Two Nations*, London 1960, p.134.

mittee believed that they must confine their attention to the development of rural communities, as the most urgent priority in African life. However, this did not lead them into attempting any examination of rural adult education as something apart from, and unrelated to, other educational fields. In complete agreement with the principles laid down by Bishop Masterman a few years before, they expressed their belief in the need to develop [illegible] co-ordination between the work of formal and non-formal education:

> The great lesson which experience of education in Africa, as well as in other countries, is enforcing, is the necessity of relating the education of the young to the general advance of the community as a whole. The school can fulfil its function only if it is part of a more general programme conceived in terms much wider than the work of the school . . . There is obviously an intimate connection between education policy and the economic development of a territory. Education policy must be planned with reference to the kind of life which the pupils may be expected to lead when they leave school.[4]

Certain practical steps were recommended as a means of achieving a more co-ordinated approach to educational development: selected individuals who had shown promise in the fields of education, medicine and agriculture should be provided with the means to extend their knowledge by study and travel; at least one teacher training institution on the model of the Jeanes School at Nairobi should be established in each colonial teritory; consideration should be given to the provision of community middle schools, specially designed to meet the needs of rural life; closer liaison should be arranged between government technical officers and the voluntary agencies responsible for running rural schools[5]. These suggestions were intended — as had been the case when the Advisory Committee issued its memorandum on *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa* in 1925 — to provide merely a series of general guide-lines which could be adapted to the needs of each individual territory. Much still depended on the interests and inclinations of individual Colonial Governors and their assistants. Nevertheless, as a clear and unequivocal statement of the need for more extensive programmes of adult education in Britain's dependent territories, the importance of the committee's recommendations could clearly not be ignored.

The economic recession of the 1930s, bringing with it a substantial cut-back in educational expenditure in almost all parts of the Common-

[4] Col. No. 103, *Memo. on the Educ. of African Communities*, 1935, paras. 4-5.
[5] *Ibid.*, para.31.

wealth, made it more difficult to organise any new programmes of adult education, whilst at the same time underlining the difficulties to be overcome. However, the situation was changed by the outbreak of the Second World War, and the growing recognition on the part of the British Government that colonial communities would have to be prepared for self-government at a much faster rate than had previously been considered feasible. It became apparent that there was no longer time for a gradual extension of educational standards through programmes of formal schooling. Somehow, ways would have to be found to prepare a variety of largely illiterate adult populations for the realities of political power.

The Colonial Office Advisory Committee did, in fact, appoint a sub-committee on adult education as early as 1940, but because of the difficulties of the war-time situation, it held no meetings for several years afterwards. However, this did not mean the end of all forward planning. During 1944 the Advisory Committee produced a further series of guide-lines for Colonial governments in the form of a White Paper on *Mass Education in African Society*. It proposed the use of 'shock tactics' and an assortment of modern techniques, in an effort to provide a simple, basic form of education within a generation and to ensure the progressive eradication of illiteracy. In this way African communities were to be taught to appreciate, and ultimately to control, the social, economic and political forces 'which have changed and are changing their lives so radically.'*

The main principles set out in the White Paper were in no way different from those which the Advisory Committee had consistently emphasised down through the years. African people themselves were to act as the main agents of development in African life. There was to be close co-operation between formal and non-formal education, and also between government officials and voluntary and local community organisations of various kinds. Yet the targets to be achieved represented a much more comprehensive programme of educational development than had been so far attempted in British territories overseas; means were to be found for a widespread extension of primary schooling, aimed at reaching all children in the appropriate age-groups within a reasonable period of time; literacy was to be extended through the adult population, mainly by means of a more widespread circulation of suitable literature; mass education was to be planned as a movement of the community itself, with active communal support from the

* Col. No. 186, *Mass Educ. in African Society*, 1944, para.15.

start; plans for mass education were to be co-ordinated with the work of welfare organisations, so as to provide a comprehensive and balanced programme of social advancement.[7]

Moreover, to an extent never previously equalled in statements of British Colonial education policy, there was a frank acceptance of the obligation to provide training for the assumption of political responsibility. The growth in political aspirations had become, it was agreed, a common feature of life in all parts of the Empire, though the effects varied remarkably from place to place. Education must be used to enable people to make a wise choice of leadership, from amongst their own numbers. 'The surest form of protection,' declared the White Paper, 'consists in the development of their own power of criticism and discrimination. If that development is to be effective, there must be provision in mass education to secure freedom of discussion and criticism and there must be opportunity for extending the range of knowledge relevent to the changing conditions.'[8]

The same aim of encouraging political responsibility continued to preoccupy the Colonial Office Advisory Committee during the years which followed, and was made the theme of a further White Paper, issued during 1948. Taking as a starting-point the principle that 'you cannot educate people for citizenship unless you give them the chance of exercising their citizenship,' the White Paper searched for ways in which Colonial communities could be trained for political leadership through experience gained in managing their own local affairs.[9] Local government could, if effectively organised, become an important nursery for central government. Efforts already made in Ashanti, in the Gold Coast, were pointed out to other governments for possible application in their territories. Much could be done, it was suggested, through the medium of co-operative societies, and local education, welfare and development committees.[10] In attempting to encourage all these local institutions to develop a spirit of civic responsibility, the Committee felt that considerable benefit could be obtained from a study of the history of adult education in England, where a firm distinction had generally been drawn between education and political propaganda: 'Respect for fact, a critical attitude towards sources of information, a readiness to suspend judgment until the evidence or the conflict of

[7] *Ibid.*, para.16.
[8] *Ibid.*, paras.12-13.
[9] Col. No. 216, *Educ. for Citizenship in Africa*. 1948, para.101.
[10] *Ibid.*, para.39.

theories has been examined — these have been practised in class by many who have later learned to apply them in political life.'[11] However, there was certainly no intention to keep to the example of England alone. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the White Paper was its insistence that British Colonial territories had much to learn from educational experience in a number of countries outside the Commonwealth. The folk high schools of Denmark, for instance, had during the previous century or so been developing a characteristic approach to adult education, in which agricultural training was combined with a study of national history and cultural tradition.[12] No doubt the example of the Danish folk high schools was a little unfortunate, as presenting the picture of a system of education which had failed to adapt itself to the transition from an agricultural to an industrial way of life. Nevertheless, the moral for developing countries was clear enough to see. They must endeavour to develop institutions of adult education which, while geared to achieving higher standards in agricultural and industrial life, were also permeated through and through with a healthy pride in national tradition.

**Community Development; Example of the West Indies**

The term 'mass education' used by the Colonial Office Advisory Committee in the title of the White Paper of 1944 was by no means a happy choice. For many people, the word 'mass' had political overtones of an undesirable kind, since it appeared to suggest an inferior educational process, designed for the less favoured sections of developing communities. For this reason the description was rejected by U.N.E.S.C.O. when it began to study the subject in 1947, and replaced by 'fundamental education,' which quickly came into general use all over the world. Meanwhile, a Colonial Office Conference on African Administration in 1948, composed mainly of officials home on leave, expressed disapproval of the word 'education,' as seeming to denote bookishness, rote-learning and other things which were out of keeping with the traditional aims of British educational policy overseas. Instead, the Conference chose the description 'community development,' as likely to encourage people to think rather less of their own individual ambitions, and more of the interests of the community to which they belonged.[13] Community development was defined in a broad sense as

> a movement designed to promote better living for the whole com-

[11] *Ibid.*, para.97.
[12] *Ibid.*, para.98.

munity with the active participation, and if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement. (Community development) embraces all forms of betterment. It includes the whole range of development activities in the district whether these are undertaken by government or unofficial bodies; in the field of agriculture by securing the adopting of better methods of soil conservation, better methods of farming and better care of livestock; in the field of health by promoting better sanitation and water supplies, proper measures of hygiene, infant and maternity welfare; in the field of education by spreading literacy and adult education as well as by the extension and improvement of schools for children. (Community development) must make use of the co-operative movement and must be put into effect in the closest association with local government bodies.[14]

It could, perhaps, be argued that the change in nomenclature was of little practical significance, since all the activies listed had occupied a foremost place in British Colonial policy down through the years. Clearly, no new departure in policy was being contemplated. Nevertheless, the declaration of the Conference of 1948 was important as signifying an increased awareness of the part which local communities might play in their own educational development. A number of considerations — the difficulties in relating scientific and technological knowledge to the conditions of local social and economic life, the need to enlist all available resources in support of educational programmes, and the aim of providing opportunities for experience in local responsibility and leadership — made it desirable to encourage a larger measure of local self-help than had been contemplated before.

The new emphasis on local self-help came unobtrusively, and without any formal re-statement of policy from London. It was apparently the result, not so much of any initiative taken by the Colonial Office authorities, as of the cumulative experience of a variety of schemes already put into operation by territorial administrators on the spot. The implications, however, were far-reaching. Henceforward, there must be a new dimension in educational planning, not only in the developing countries of the Commonwealth, but in many other parts of the world.

[13] W. E. F. Ward, *Educating Young Nations*, London 1959, pp.125-6.
[14] *Community Development: a Handbook*, London 1966, p.2.

During the early 1940s, experiments in community development were inaugurated at Hokpandu in Togoland, Mponela in Nyasaland, and Udi in Nigeria. In Kenya there was progress in expanding the work of welfare centres, and in the establishment of local Native Councils. In Tanganyika rather more ambitious plans were made for a comphrehensive scheme of social development. Local co-operation was sought in launching mass literacy campaigns in the Katsina province of Northern Nigeria, and in organising evening classes for adults in Grenada. In each case, the results of the experiment were watched with close attention by British Colonial officials, anxious to estimate their general value as a basis for similar developments elsewhere.[15] They were helped by the establishment of a central clearing-house of information and advice on questions of adult education by the Colonial Department of the University of London Institute of Education.[16]

The most outstanding progress, however, was made in the British Caribbean dependencies, where circumstances were unusually favourable for the development of co-operative effort in educational fields. The larger Colonies — British Guinea, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago — and the smaller island territories were alike in that their populations were made up almost entirely of newly-arrived peoples of different racial groups.[17] Indeed, the local animals, crops and ornamental shrubs had been largely imported from outside. As a result, there was no question of having to devise programmes of adult education within the framework of a tribal society, but rather a requirement that education should be used as a cohesive force in a society made up of many different racial and cultural groups. Moreover, education was made all the easier by a common use of the English language, and by a tradition of intimate contact with the influences of European culture since the early years of the seventeenth century.

A co-operative movement, gaining rapidly in popularity during the period between the two World Wars, culminated in the foundation of Jamaica Welfare Limited by a voluntary body during 1937. The aim of the new organisation was to achieve far-reaching reforms in social and economic life, through the development of programmes of adult education. No doubt, if control had remained in the hands of private philanthropic effort, the results would have been little more

[15] Cmd. 7715, *The Colonial Territories*, 1948-49, para.408.
[16] *Ibid.*, para.410.
[17] Even in the mainland territories of British Honduras and British Guiana, the Mayas and other indigenous Amerindian peoples made up less than one per cent of the total population.

spectacular than in the case of similar schemes in a number of other Colonies. The situation of Jamaica Welfare Limited was greatly changed, however, by an unprecedented boom in industrial production, bringing a much greater demand for trained personnel. For the first time, industry found itself with a direct interest in expanding facilities for adult education in the area. The United Fruit Company, at the suggestion of Norman Manley, Chief Minister of Jamaica, agreed to provide the proceeds of a cess of one per cent on every bunch of bananas purchased from producers. At the same time, the Company, together with a number of other industrial enterprises, offered to supplement existing courses of adult education with training courses for their own employees.[18] These developments could hardly fail to provide important lessons for other territories, where the same close co-ordination between the efforts of government, industry and philanthropic individuals could be used to accelerate community development in a number of valuable ways.

Other lessons were provided by the extent to which West Indian educationists attempted to profit from experience in other parts of the world. Training officers were sent on courses at Loughborough Co-Operative College in England and in Puerto Rico. Careful studies were made of the methods employed by Nicholas Grundtvig and his successors in the folk high schools of Denmark, by F. L. Brayne in his welfare work in the villages of the Gurgaan District of Bengal during the 1930s,[19] and by contemporary organisers of adult education courses at Antigonish in Nova Scotia. There seemed good reason for believing that the West Indies would become an experiment-place, where different principles and theories of community development could be carried into effect. The Second World War caused difficulties for a time, as shipments of bananas fell heavily, and it become necessary to make use of reserve funds. New opportunities for expansion were, however, opened up with the establishment of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund by the United Kingdom Government during 1940. On the advice of United Kingdom officials the original Jamaica Welfare Limited passed out of existence in 1943, to be replaced by a new semi-

[18] P. M. Sherlock, 'The Co-Operative Movement in the British Caribbean,' in *O.Q.*, 1. 3 (Sept. 1958), pp.83-86.

[19] See F. L. Brayne, *Socrates in an Indian Village*, Calcutta 1938. Brayne's rather high-pressure methods of development were subjected to considerable criticism, and were said to have had little permanent effect. See A. Mayer and Associates, *Pilot Project India: the story of rural development at Etawah, Utter Pradesh*, Berkeley 1959, pp.18-19.

public corporation under the same name, supported by an annual grant of £30,000 from Colonial Development and Welfare funds.[20] The change brought much more than the advantages of a substantial steady income. It created an organisation much better fitted to act as an effective intermediary between government administrators and the leaders of local community endeavour.

### The Role of the Universities

The task of producing an acceptable calibre of local community leaders was helped forward considerably by the decisions of a Conference on Adult Education in the Colonies, held at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, during August 1951. As it happened, the idea of a specialised conference to consider matters of adult education had originated with the adult education sub-committee of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. Moreover, most of the expense was defrayed out of grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Yet, in an effort to achieve close co-operation with members of university staffs, both in the United Kingdom and overseas, the arrangements were made, not by the Colonial Office alone, but by Colonial Office officials working closely in concert with the Cambridge University Board of Extra-Mural Studies.[21] It was apparently realised that many of the more complex problems of social and economic re-construction overseas called for a degree of specialist advice and assistance which universities were perhaps alone in a position to provide.

The one significant conclusion that emerged from the discussions which followed was, indeed, that universities must henceforward play a more decisive role in the activities of adult education. However, this could certainly not be achieved without some fundamental re-thinking of the role of the university in providing educational facilities for adult students outside their walls. As Professor R. Peers of Nottingham University pointed out, in a masterly exposition on this theme, the central problems of adult education in developing countries were not concerned with assisting those who were able to work at university level, but with raising the understanding of the great majority of the population. University extra-mural departments in colonial territories, therefore, in contrast with those in the United Kingdom, were in-

[20] P. M. Sherlock, 'Community Educ. in Jamaica,' in *C.R.*, IV.5 (Mar. 1946), pp.145-6.
[21] *Record of Conference on Adult Educ. at Cambridge*, 1951, p.1.

variably faced with a situation in which it was necessary to improve primitive methods of living, so as to open the way for a variety of educational activities. Since university extra-mural teaching must, by its nature, be confined to a relatively small part of the adult population as a whole, it followed that its special contribution could best be made through existing educational organisations, by helping them with studies directly related to their own experience, and by abandoning for the moment any restrictive obsession with university standards. 'The business of a university,' argued Professor Peers, 'is to leaven its community, which can be done by many means besides formal education; and if extra-mural departments look to the quality of their *teachers*, then "standards" will take care of themselves.'[22]

These ideas met with widespread approval from the Conference. It was recommended, as a matter of first priority, that 'efforts should be made to secure the early establishment of extra-mural studies in those colonies where facilities for higher education exist, but where this development has not yet taken place.' For the rest, the Conference called for much closer co-operation between state, university and voluntary organisations engaged in the work of adult education; courses of training for adult education organisers in teaching methods and techniques; greater interchange of visits between organisers in the Colonies and those in other countries both inside and outside the Commonwealth; efforts to interest Colonial students in Britain in the possibilities of adult education so that they would give it support on return to their own countries; greater emphasis on the education of women, particularly in Muslim countries, where social tradition tended to isolate women from many of the educative influences in the world around them.[23]

Such a many-sided programme promised to amount to nothing less than the most comprehensive exercise in adult education yet attempted in the post-war world. Yet the effect was increased still further by the sense of urgency shared by delegates from many parts of the Colonial Empire. It was agreed that far more vigorous efforts would have to be made if colonial communities were to be provided with the leadership so vitally necessary in many aspects of their affairs, before self-government could become a viable proposition. Adult education should, in fact, no longer be regarded by colonial governments as a luxury, but

[22] G. Sargeant, 'Adult Educ. in the British Colonies,' in *Oversea Education*, XXIII.2 (Jan. 1952), pp.249-252.
[23] *Record of Conference on Adult Educ. at Cambridge*, 1951, p.56.

as an essential feature of their development plans. Much of the necessary financial support would have to be sought outside the Commonwealth, from bodies such as U.N.E.S.C.O. and the Carnegie, Ford and Fulbright Trustees. However, other, no less vital forms of assistance could be expected from the universities of the United Kingdom, through the loan of personnel who were already experienced in the problems of adult education.[24]

Much useful progress was achieved during the years which followed. At the time of the meeting of a second Conference on Adult Education, at Pembroke College, Oxford, during July 1955, extra-mural departments had already been firmly established in three overseas university institutions, whilst development of the Singapore Council for Adult Education, founded in 1950, provided an example of the kind of close co-ordination between government and private initiative which the Sidney Sussex Conference had in mind. Apparently for these reasons, the Pembroke Conference, though no less affected by a sense of urgency than its predecessor of four years before, felt able to turn its attention to a wider variety of topics outside the more immediate aims of promoting literacy and community development.[25]

At least one important modification was proposed in the stategy adopted in 1951. In turning once more to discuss the role of the university in adult education, Professor S. G. Raybould put forward the idea that it might be more appropriate, in the conditions of certain developing countries, to establish institutes of adult education rather than extra-mural departments.[26] His thinking was based on a belief that there were limits to the extent to which universities could contribute directly to the teaching of non-matriculated adults in an educationally backward society. It seemed that a more productive role for university specialists in adult education might be found in the training of workers for the field, and in the co-ordination of the work of voluntary organisations at many levels. Professor Raybould's views were given strong support in the report of a conference group on the organisation of adult education. Hopes were expressed that the contribution of universities would no longer be confined to the provision of extra-mural

[24] *Ibid.*, p.35.
[25] *Report of Conference on Adult Educ. at Pembroke College, Oxford*, 1955, pp.1, 15 and 16.
[26] *Ibid.*, p.3. Professor S. G. Raybould, who held the Chair of Adult Education in the University of Leeds, had spent two terms during 1954 as Visiting Director of Extra-Mural Studies at Ibadan University College, Nigeria.

courses, but would include 'assistance to other adult education agencies through, for example, research into problems of adult teaching, the training of tutors, the preparation of teaching materials and the continuous study of local provision and needs.'[27] The implication was that adult education would henceforth become an academic study in its own right, enjoying the support of specialist staff and research facilities, such as other university activities normally received.

**Extra-mural departments in overseas universities; A new approach in Rhodesia**

It was, perhaps, a matter of some significance that the first colonial university institutions founded during the immediate post-war years — the University Colleges of the West Indies (f. 1946), Ibadan (1949) and the Gold Coast (1949) — should all have had extra-mural departments from the beginning. This was apparently largely due to the influence of the Asquith Commission, which, reporting during 1944 on the future organisation of higher education in the Colonies, came down firmly on the side of university participation in extra-mural studies. 'In every Colony served by a university,' it was recommended, 'there should certainly be one centre for extra-mural studies, and . . . there should be similar centres wherever large urban or industrialised localities provide oportunities for part-time study.' The reasons advanced to support this recommendation were certainly illuminating. It was affirmed that, in the special circumstances of a developing country, a university must not confine its activities to research and the teaching of undergraduates. Such activities would be 'limited in their immediate influence' since they could make little impact on the older sections of the population. Something must therefore be done to assist those who could have profited from university education, but who had passed the normal age for undergraduate study. The Commissioners were not, however, moved by humanitarian considerations alone; they argued, with remarkable understanding of the barriers to educational development which normally presented themselves in developing countries, that unless some action was taken 'general progress and fresh educational advance will be gravely hindered by mass ignorance in the older generation.' Again, they considered that extra-mural contracts would guard against a danger, particularly prevalent in the conditions of a developing country, that 'university graduates might become a separate community . . . divorced

[27] Ibid., p.15.

from the concerns and aspirations of their fellow citizens.' It was clearly desirable that colonial universities should establish intimate relations with every section of the communities which they served, and not merely with the privileged few who were able to enrol as full-time students. Finally, the Asquith Commisioners showed themselves aware of the need to provide professional people with opportunities to 'refresh, extend and bring up-to-date their knowledge, and to think, learn and study anew'.[28]

Not long after the publication of the Asquith Report, the Elliott Commission presented certain specific recommendations concerning the organisation of higher education in West Africa. The members of the Commission disagreed on the number of university colleges which should be provided in the region, and therefore produced both majority and minority reports. However, all were as one in asserting the need for extra-mural facilities. According to the majority report, each university institution should become 'a focus of interest for the youth of the country and for the adult population living round about it;' ways must be found to encourage closer involvement by university people in local community life.[29] The minority report, in a rather more detailed statement, recommended that opportunities should be given 'to those of responsible age, who desire to equip themselves for social or public service, to acquire a better cultural background.' It also expressed concern, as the Asquith Commision had already done, for the 'many able men and women who have never had a chance of real study,' and affirmed a belief that, in the conditions of the modern world, where opportunities for formal education were much greater than ever before, and where social barriers mattered progressively less and less, 'it would be disastrous to set up a great gulf between the few who, by merit and good fortune, have had the opportunity for acquiring learning and education, and the vast majority who have had no such opportunity.'[30]

The Irvine Committee, reporting at about the same time on the advisability of establishing a university college in the West Indies, made rather more explicit recommendations. There should be a Department of Extra-Mural Studies under a Director, holding professorial rank. The Director should be made responsible for co-ordinating the work of resi-

[28] Cmd. 6647, *Report of Commission on Higher Educ. in the Colonies*, 1945, pp.18-19.
[29] Cmd. 6655, *Report of Commission on Higher Educ. in West Africa*, 1945, paras.33 and 121.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp.161-3.

dent tutors located in each of the British territories in the Caribbean.[31] Broadly similar ideas were put forward by the Carr-Saunders Commission, reporting on a proposed university for Malaya in 1948; it was essential, the Commission argued, to make early appointments of both a Director of Extra-Mural Studies and a University Extension Board to enable the new institution to play a leading part in adult education in the area.[32]

However, it was obviously one thing to recommend the provision of facilities for extra-mural study, but quite another to decide how they should be organised in the circumstances of a developing country. Some pioneering work on the solution of this problem was begun as early as 1948 when the Oxford University Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies, at the request of the Colonial Office, began experimental courses in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. As the Oxford Delegacy itself was at pains to point out, the courses were not designed to meet any specific need in the two countries concerned. Yet it was hoped to gain useful experience of university extra-mural activity in a developing country, such as might help to lay down guide-lines for similar experiments elsewhere.[33]

The enterprise met with a considerable measure of success. Everywhere the Oxford tutors reported great enthusiasm and industry on the part of their students. So much so, indeed, that a number of organised student groups were already in existence to be taken over by the Extra-Mural Departments of the University Colleges of Ibadan and the Gold Coast on their foundation in 1949.[34] For this reason, apparently, the Colleges decided to organise their extra-mural activties along much the same lines followed in the United Kingdom, with teaching ranging from advanced academic instruction down to courses at lower levels. In Nigeria, in particular, the first Director, Robert Gardiner, himself a West African but also a graduate of Cambridge and London Universities, gave immediate attention to the establishment of a film service and radio programmes as a means of reaching large sections of the population who were unable to take advantage of classes and vacation

[31] Cmd. 6654, *Report of West Indies Committee of Commission on Higher Educ. in the Colonies*, 1945, para.142.
[32] Col. No. 229, *Report of Commission on Univ. Educ. in Malaya*, 1948, pp.65-7.
[33] A. Ogunsheye, 'Adult Educ. and Col. Universities,' in *C.R.*, IX. 5 (Mar. 1956), pp.134-6.
[34] *Ibid.*

courses.[35] These ambitious programmes, however admirable in intent, raised certain fundamental questions regarding the role of universities and of university teachers, and the way in which they might be expected to make their most valuable contribution to the life of a developing country. It was necessary to ask if teachers with specialist academic experience and high standards of critical thought would not be better employed in training leaders of opinion in various departments of social, economic and political life. And if this were so, then would it not be desirable for university departments to concentrate their activities in a few large centres where intensive tuition could be given?

United Kingdom models were also followed in the early stages by the University College of the West Indies, where the first Director of Extra-Mural Studies, Philip Sherlock — who had himself been a member of the Irvine Committee — faced the special difficulties of operating over great distances in a scattered island community. Unavoidably, it was necessary to work through a system of resident tutors, acting as the representatives of the College in their own particular localities. Nevertheless, Sherlock displayed considerable enterprise in making use of such advantages as West Indian circumstances allowed. Plentiful supplies of timber enabled him to teach book-binding and a number of other trades. Indeed, all laboratory benches, cupboards and racks, and all furniture for offices and undergraduate rooms were made on the campus in the College's own joinery shop.[36] In this way, it seemed, selected individuals would be trained to pass on new knowledge and ideas to the communities in which they served.

In East Africa, the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at Makerere University College (f. 1949) also developed courses at a number of different educational levels in the three territories of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika. However, it was significant that when a further Extra-Mural Department was established in 1961 as one of the two founder-departments of the University College of Dar es Salaam, it had a much more restricted sphere of activity. The Department's policy was to concentrate its attention on advanced studies in non-vocational fields, and to refrain from any attempt to cover the whole field of adult education.[37] Experience had apparently shown that some radical departures

[35] S. G. Raybould, *Adult Educ. at a Tropical University*, London 1957, pp.21-2.
[36] T. W. J. Taylor, 'The Univ. Coll. of the West Indies,' in *C.R.*, VII. 1 (Mar. 1951), pp.13-15.
[37] A. Ogunsheye, 'Adult Educ. and Col. Universities,' in *C.R.*, IX. 5 (Mar. 1956), pp.134-7.

from the United Kingdom concept of university extra-mural studies was necessary to meet the demands of a developing country overseas. It remained to be asked — as Professor Raybould had done at the Pembroke College Conference of 1955 — if university staff might not be better employed on the research and advanced instruction needed to give practitioners of adult education a more effective understanding of the problems with which they had to deal.

These considerations played an important part in determining the attitude towards adult education adopted by the authorities of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, during the years which followed its foundation in 1957. As a multi-racial institution, intended by the British Government to develop a powerful influence in harmonising inter-community relations in the newly-formed Central African Federation, the College could scarcely avoid an obligation to open up educational contacts with the communities outside its walls. It was doubtful, however, if adult education activities on the United Kingdom model would prove feasible amongst a population in which cultural, racial and even political differences ran unusually deep. The College Academic Board decided, therefore, on the advice of the Vice-Principal, Professor B.A. Fletcher, not to follow the example of other British Colonial universities in attempting to provide a variety of extra-mural courses at different educational levels, but to take measures to boost the efforts of agencies already engaged in pioneering programmes of adult education.[38]

A conference organised by the College at Salisbury during June 1958 was remarkable for the way in which it brought together delegates with many different views and backgrounds, both from within the Federation and outside. 'Education,' wrote Professor Fletcher in what was probably the key paragraph of the conference report, 'is an easier field in which to secure co-operation than in the fields of politics and economics, because fewer men in it are seeking for the power that corrupts; *but the same methods and spirit that brought about unity in this conference could, if courageously applied elsewhere, do something to mitigate human differences.*'[39] A series of recommendations, covering a wide variety of educational activities, was approved without even one dissentient voice. Significantly, two areas of activity were singled out as likely to offer most rewarding returns during the years to follow:

[38] *Univ. Coll. of Rhodesia: Report of Conference on Adult Educ.*, 1958, p.1.
[39] *Ibid.*, p.6.

a project for an Institute of Adult Education within the University College, and the provision of facilities for advanced training in citizenship.

The opening of the Rhodesian Institute of Adult Education, late in 1961, with the aid of grants from the Dulverton and Rowntree Trusts, represented the first practical attempt to carry into effect the ideas put forward by Professor Raybould at the Pembroke College Conference of 1955. No courses were provided in any of the normal academic disciplines. Instead, the emphasis was placed on training personnel for leadership in various fields of adult education. At the same time there was provision for constant re-assessment of human resources in the territories of the Federation, and for research into the application of various teaching techniques to adult pupils. The intention, in fact, was that the Institute would become, not an external arm of the University College, but a normal teaching department, capable of benefiting from an intimate relationship with other sections of the academic community.[40]

The second priority for development identified by the Salisbury Conference — citizenship training — came to assume a critical importance during the political disturbances which culminated in the dissolution of the Central African Federation at the end of 1963. With an outbreak of agitation among African nationalist groups, and a reciprocal growth of racial prejudice amongst the ruling European minority, it became even more important to emphasise the large body of common interest shared by all the peoples of the Central African territories. Attempts were made for a time to work through a Central African Studies Association, founded in 1961 with the object of providing short courses on various aspects of public affairs for people from different cultural and educational backgrounds. The scheme offered exciting possibilities of fruitful co-operation between different racial and political groups. Yet a deepening of political controversies during 1962 and 1963 made it impossible to achieve worthwhile progress in any form. As an alternative, therefore, the University College authorities fell back on an idea, already much discussed, of promoting residential courses in adult education.[41]

[40] N. Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians*, London 1972, p.171.

[41] The discussion of this topic is largely based on an unpublished paper, "Adult Educ. in Central Africa,' by Professor B. A. Fletcher, which the author has kindly permitted me to use. See also G. Hunter, 'Emergent Africans,' in *O.Q.*, 1. 8 (Dec. 1959), pp.236-8.

Some inspiration could be drawn from an experiment at Mindolo, in Northern Rhodesia, where a group of Protestant missions had for several years been organising seminar discussions between people of different racial groups. However, of even greater importance was the work of the Capricorn Africa Society, a body founded in 1949 to promote racial harmony through a programme of adult education. 'Africa to-day,' declared a statement of the Society's aims, 'is suffering from deep wounds inflicted by fear and mistrust between races and between tribes. The immense task of raising the masses from poverty and ignorance demands the exertion, in unity and friendship, of all the talents that the continent can provide.'[42] At a conference organised by the Society in Nairobi during April 1958 plans were drawn up for the establishment of colleges of citizenship in both Nairobi and Salisbury. Two British consultants, Guy Hunter and his wife, were commissioned to make an assessment of the problems to be overcome in setting up the Salisbury college, and to report by the end of January 1959. Their report, when submitted in due course, included some criticism of the policy already adopted by the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, on the grounds that it avoided any 'direct and continuing responsibility for a teaching agency in the field,' through the establishment of a department of extra-mural studies. Nevertheless, these reservations notwithstanding, they were of the opinion that the proposed college of citizenship should be placed close to the University College campus, and should be supervised by university staff.[43]

Substantial support for the project was made available both in Africa and overseas, including grants by the Beit and Dulverton Trustess, and by the end of 1961 arrangements for the organisation of the colleges were well under way in Nairobi and Salisbury. The Salisbury institution, eventually established at Ranche House, an historic mansion made available by the Southern Rhodesia Government, came to operate along three main lines of approach: residential courses, short conferences, and evening lectures and study groups. The residential courses in particular were intended to provide opportunities for citizenship training in a broad sense, since provision was made for a variety of courses in the normal school subjects up to university entrance. This

[42] Rhodes House MS. Af. s. 970, statement of aims of the Capricorn Africa Society, undated. The founder members consisted of a group of Africans, Asians and Europeans, all with homes and future careers in Africa. Their crest was a symbolic zebra on a map of Africa; the zebra dies, it was pointed out, if smitten through any stripe.

[43] *Report on a Proposal for Colleges of Citizenship in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, London 1959, paras.40, 105 and 107.

was in itself a significant development since it meant that — for the first time in central Africa at any rate — continuation instruction was being provided for pupils who had been denied the opportunity of obtaining a full secondary education. And it also implied an attempt to transplant many of the characteristics of university life to the service of other educational institutions outside the university campus. As Professor Fletcher explained:

> The influence of a university on social and political life is limited. It demands from three to six years of the working life of young adults. And its studies are severe so it must select vigorously. Moreover, by training so much for the professions . . . it produces leaders who do not often have the time to engage actively in political life. A political democracy needs in addition to a university, a number of institutions where quite unselected entrants engage in short periods of residential education at colleges founded on the three basic principles of university life — open administration, autonomy and residential community life.[44]

It was certainly important, at a time when most developing countries were feeling the impact of rapid and far-reaching political change, that ways should be found to prepare men and women at many educational levels — not just the intellectual elite — to take a responsible part in public life. Such a task did not, it is true, form part of the traditional role of a university as a centre of academic learning. But it called for qualities of enterprise and imagination which members of a university community were often alone in a position to provide. Professor Raybould showed himself to be one of those who were particularly aware of the point. 'There is,' he wrote, 'work to be done by universities with adult education which is accord with the essential function of the university, which calls for the employment of university teaching resources, (and) which cannot be as well done through other agencies.'[45] In essence, that work lay in bringing to bear the benefits of critical, analytical thought on a wide variety of social problems outside the university walls.

**Education for Women**

Quite apart from its contribution to the work of universities in adult

[44] B. A. Fletcher, pp.10-14. Individual members of the staff of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland did, however, engage in a number of experiments in the direct teaching of extra-mural students, notably through a night school for African workers which operated from 1953 to 1970.

[45] S. G. Raybould, p.113.

education, the Pembroke College Conference of 1955 had also broken new ground in the field of education for women. 'It is vital,' declared the conference report, 'to relate all women's courses, however short, to a progressive scheme of women's education; and to consider that all women's work should, as far as possible, be linked with, and made to contribute to, a programme of general community development.' This would often mean that a balance must be struck between activities designed to stimulate intelligence — often neglected in programmes of women's education — and those intended to teach individual skills. However, it was no less important that courses should be developed from wants expressed by the students themselves, rather than from what appeared to be important needs when seen from an outsider's point of view. Once having satisfied such practical wants as the acquisition of skills capable of making a more comfortable home, or of bringing in more money through industrial production, it would be all the easier to move to the wider aims of education for citizenship.[46]

This first real attempt to make an overall survey of the need to provide special courses of instruction for women could scarcely fail to be confronted by a number of difficulties of a particularly perplexing kind. Delegates to the Conference showed themselves aware that the social traditions of Oriental and Muslim countries frequently set obstacles in the path of women's education. Such countries, it was thought, needed to be brought into closer contact with communities where social progress had been particularly rapid.[47] The point had already been appreciated by British rulers in India many years before. 'The immediate problem in the education of girls,' observed an official report just before the First World War, 'is one of social development.' It was therefore proposed to refrain from laying down any general lines of policy, but to organise the education of women in accordance with the position which they could be expected to fill in the life of their local community.[48] However, with the exception of a few attempts to raise the status of women — notably the foundation of the Council of Women in India at Bombay during 1919 — remarkably little interest in even this modified programme was shown by Indian opinion during the years which followed.

The Conference would have found it no less instructive to consider the lack of progress in women's education in Africa, despite the pleas

[46] *Report of Conf. on Adult Educ. at Pembroke College, Oxford*, 1955, pp.20-23.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Progress of Educ. in India*, 1907-1912, London 1914, para.16.

made by Lugard and Guggisberg a generation or so earlier. With the exception of support given to the work of the Jeanes Teachers in eastern and central Africa — a scheme which was in any case due to private initiative in the United States — British administrators had made very little progress in the provison of educational facilities for women. No doubt the reasons were largely concerned with the traditional policy of working through native tradition, and the consequent need to avoid precipitate social changes of any kind. Guggisberg's plans to provide courses for girls at Achimota had, after all, been foiled by African disapproval. Yet new circumstances during the years which followed the Second World War forced much re-thinking to be done. Social cataclysms in nearly all the countries of Europe and North America had brought a dramatic uplift in the status of women, and their entrance to almost every aspect of public life. There was therefore a prospect of steadily growing social and educational barriers between women in the developed and the developing countries of the world. And this, in turn, could hardly fail to endanger the success of any programme of adult education in the developing countries.

Special difficulties were presented in societies where women were still frequently called upon to take a large share in arduous agricultural work. U.N.E.S.C.O. observers noted that in most parts of Africa the woman was expected to grow food for the family. In Tanzania and Kenya she was traditionally responsible for tilling the land, including the tasks of sowing, planting, weeding, cleaning and harvesting. In West Africa, where her duties in the fields were rather lighter, she was nevertheless busy in collecting firewood, bringing water — often from long distances — milling grain, storing, grinding, cooking, sewing and cleaning. In parts of Ghana and Nigeria she also carried on a trade in home-craft products, often carrying them long distances to market. Because of the scarcity of beasts of burden, it was invariably the woman who carried on her head whatever loads needed to be transported, often with a child straddled on her back.[49] These conditions were symptomatic of a society in which women filled a lower, subservient role to that of men, who were left free to concentrate on the traditional masculine pursuits of hunting, fighting and government. Yet they also had at least two important implications when see in educational terms; through the woman passed a large part of the agricultural and industrial knowledge and skills on which tribal life depended;

[49] *U.N.E.S.C.O.: Assessment of Projects for the Educ. and Training of Women and Girls*, 1970, pp.5-7.

moreover, the woman by virtue of the many-sided activities in which she engaged, was by no means home-bound, but was accustomed to taking an active part in community life. It followed, therefore, that no matter how far social custom condemned the woman to a life of toil, and cut her off from positions of influence and responsibility in her community, it was necessary to involve her in programmes of adult education, if effective progress towards a more rewarding way of life was to be achieved.

Urban life in developing countries presented problems of a different kind, since women were often forced to adjust themselves to a way of life which was almost entirely different to that which they had known in country areas. The housewife had to learn to live according to the requirements of a money economy, balancing a precarious budget and making a variety of consumer choices on the open market. She had to balance the advantages of taking paid employment against the natural inhibitions of her early rural upbringing, and — more important — her responsibilities for rearing her children. Almost invariably, her security would depend on her ability to make the most effective use of such social services as were available.

Though measures of social education received considerable attention from the third Commonwealth Education Conference at New Delhi in 1962, the part to be played by women was never seriously discussed. The deficiency was to some extent made good by the fourth Conference at Ottawa in 1964 when a recommendation was made that women should be encouraged to participate fully in Commonwealth scheme for co-operation in social education. The participation of women was vital, it was considered, 'not only because they are affected as much or more than anyone by contemporary processes of rapid change . . . but because they themselves are a powerful force in these processes, as has been seen in a number of developing countries of the Commonwealth.'[80]

The next Conference, held at Lagos in 1968, made a number of practical suggestions for carrying these principles into effect. It was pointed out that many of the disadvantages which prevented women from making their full contribution to social and economic development were due, not so much to any active policy of discrimination against them, as to difficulties within the social situation itself. There were, for instance, such considerations as the reluctance of parents to

[80] Cmd. 2545, *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1964, p.71.

spend money on the education of daughters at the expense of sons, the adverse effect in some cases of continued education on a girl's marriage prospects and the claims of a woman's family responsibilities at certain periods of her life. Something must therefore be done, both to persuade women to put themselves forward more confidently for further education and training, and to influence the attitude of their monfolk towards encouraging them in this direction. Amongst the measures suggested were greater representation of women on selection boards and education committees; joint training courses for men and women whenever these seemed appropriate; manpower studies of both men and women; better facilities for women to prepare themselves for their specialist responsibilities in family, social and civic life, and wider opportunties for them to participate in the economic life of their countries.[51]

These suggestions differed from most other matters discussed by Commonwealth Education Conferences in that they referred less to matters for international co-operation than to considerations of social and economic policy in individual member-states. Attitudes to women's education must obviously differ widely through the Commonwealth as a whole, and it would be a matter of extreme difficulty to lay down any criteria acceptable to all. The point was emphasised by a committee of the next Conference at Canberra in 1971, which refrained from making any further recommendations on the matter in view of the fact that 'social conventions determine certain social practices and that each country will necessarily determine the roles of men and women within that country.'[52] The furthest that the committee was prepared to go was to recommend — in the absence of reports on the subject — that surveys should be carried out in each country to determine the most suitable occupations for women, and the changes in educational organisation which seemed to be required to increase the numbers of women entering skilled employment. In this recommendation, it seemed, lay a means to much useful heart-searching and re-assessment on the part of all countries anxious to make use of their resources of human ability to the greatest possible extent.

**Adult Education to interpret and support the processes of change**

Starting with little more than the experience of continuation courses in countries like Britain where universal primary schooling

[51] *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1968, pp.135-6.
[52] *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1971, pp.4-5.

was already an accomplished fact, the developing countries of the Commonwealth had moved by the early 1960s to a recognition of the many-sided possibilities of programmes of adult education in the future advancement of their national life. In setting out the aims of Tanganyika's first Five Year Development Plan in 1964, President Nyerere declared: 'First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten or even twenty years. The attitudes of the adult have an impact now.'[53] His words were echoed by the U.N.E.S.C.O. Director-General, speaking at the opening of a conference on adult education at Abidjan during the same year: 'It is not the *children* who hold the present destiny of Africa in their hands, it is the *adults*. So it is only by establishing effective communication with the adult population, by helping them to adjust to a rapidly-changing world, that an immediate impact can be made on the urgent problems of society and essential progress be brought about.'[54] In countries where formal education had hitherto been a privilege confined to the few, there was a special need to make immediate use of untapped resources of human talent.

Developing countries invariably found it desirable that programmes of adult education should advance on a number of different fronts at the same time. There was an obvious need to consider the needs of the 'middle leadership group' — clerks, primary teachers, co-operative inspectors, trade union officials and so on — whose influence could be expected to play a decisive part in shaping the political and social order in any developing society. People from this group tended to make up the bulk of students in extra-mural classes, at least in Commonwealth countries in Africa.[55] Yet it was also necessary to provide facilities for the lower echelons of society, who would be required to fill more and more positions of skilled employment, as economic expansion got under way. This aspect of adult education had, by contrast, received remarkably little attention. With the exception of a limited provision for evening classes in Dar es Salaam and a smaller number of other centres, African countries at least had no facilities for part-time vocational instruction.[56] The lack may have been, perhaps, largely due to the attitude of university organisers of adult education, who had frequently concentrated their attention on extra-

[53] D. Edgington, 'A New Look at Adult Educ. in Africa,' in *Teacher Education*, VIII. 3 (Feb. 1968), pp.247-257.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] *Ibid.*

mural instruction for students with some background of secondary schooling. There could, it is true, be no question of calling on university teachers to offer courses in shorthand and typing, arithmetic and the elements of the English language, or to provide basic training in such technical skills as bricklaying and car maintenance. But the task of making an assessment of the priorities of educational development, and the deployment of resources needed to supply them, was one which universities were unusually well-fitted to perform.

There were still further reasons why assessments of the needs of adult education were likely to become increasingly necessary during the years which followed. As a Commonwealth Conference on Education in Rural Areas, meeting in the University of Ghana during 1970, put it: 'Adult education has for too long been the poor relation of the education business. It is, however, becoming increasingly recognised that in relation to the special situation of communities undergoing rapid change . . . *adult education programmes have a crucial role to play in creating understanding of and support for the process of change.*'[57] That role called for a degree of experiment and innovation which was not usually demanded of the institutions of formal education. And, at the same time, it implied a search for ways in which formal and non-formal education could be more closely woven together into a single system.

[57] *Report of Commonwealth Conf. on Educ. in Rural Areas*, 1970, p.66.

## Chapter Five

# HIGHER EDUCATION

### Establishment of the British University Tradition Overseas

The beginnings of British influence in higher education overseas came at a remarkably early stage in the evolution of the British Colonial Empire. By means of a Charter of Queen Elizabeth I, dated 29 December 1591, Trinity College, Dublin was incorporated as a *mater universitatis*, competent to undertake the functions of the first university in Ireland, and to confer degrees in the same faculties as those of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[1] The foundation was significant in at least two important respects. First, and more obviously, it marked the earliest attempt by British administrators to provide facilities for higher education in an overseas territory for which they were responsible; they were apparently well aware of the advantages of establishing an educated colonial ruling class, and of introducing members of the native Irish community to British law and traditions of government. At the same time, however, the organisation designed for Trinity College — enabling it to fulfil both the functions of a collegiate society and of a university — was particularly well-suited to the circumstances of a relatively isolated academic institution in a colonial setting, and provided a model which could be used again and again as need arose.

Trinity College was, in fact, the model used in the foundation of Harvard (1639), Yale (1701), Columbia (1734) and other early university institutions in Britain's North American Colonies. Later, it provided a prototype for a number of early English-speaking universities in Canada, notably the King's Colleges at Windsor, Nova Scotia and York, later Toronto (1789 and 1827) and McGill College, Montreal (1821). All these institutions shared a common association with the traditions of the older English Universities, and in particular, with the concept of a resident collegiate community. Through making use of this concept, they could hope to provide opportunities for academic achievement which might not otherwise have been attainable in the conditions of early colonial life.

Other collegiate foundations, though not aspiring to the immediate achievement of university status, were designed to meet the need for

[1] See N. Atkinson, *Irish Education*, Dublin 1969, pp.35-41.

educated leaders of colonial society. Codrington College, Barbados, was established under the will of a successful soldier and sugar-planter, Christopher Codrington (1668-1710),[2] with the aim of providing 'a convenient number of Professors and Scholars . . . who are to be obliged to study and practise physic and surgery, as well as divinity, that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all mankind, they may both endear themselves to the people, and have the better opportunities of doing good to men's souls, whilst they are taking care of their bodies.'[3] Though for many years the College remained no more than a classical school, Codrington's original purpose was at length fulfilled in 1830 when the institution was re-organised to provide both medical education and facilities for the training of Anglican priests. Fourah Bay College, founded in Sierra Leone by the Church Missionary Society in 1827, was originally intended to educate clergymen, schoolmasters and catechists. During 1876 its scope was widened to allow the admission of other students, and it became the first overseas institution to become affiliated to a United Kingdom University through an arrangement which allowed its students to sit for the degree examinations of the University of Durham.[4] The foundation of Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum, by General Kitchener, shortly after his victory at Omdurman in 1898, was apparently envisaged as the first step in a programme designed to provide both secondary and higher educational facilities for the future leaders of opinion in the Sudan. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826), through the Institute which he founded at Singapore in 1822, aimed at providing not only opportunities for higher education amongst the multi-racial population of his new settlement, but also a centre for the study of the languages and culture of the Eastern world in which he moved. The idea had grown in his mind during correspondence with the Evangelical reformer, William Wilberforce. When carried into practice as one of the earliest decisions on educational policy in Singapore, it represented the first attempt to encourage the development of local culture through an institution on the British university model.[5]

[2] Codrington was also a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, to which he bequeathed a sum of money and books, sufficient to furnish and endow the magnificent library which still bears his name.

[3] 'Report of Proceedings on the Re-Establishment of Codrington College,' in *The Barbadian*, 10 Sept. 1830, pp.4-7.

[4] *Fourah Bay College, Univ. of Sierra Leone, Calendar*, 1962-3, p.20. Though the College was re-constituted by Royal Charter in 1960 as the University College of Sierre Leone, the affiliation with Durham University continued.

[5] R. Coupland, *Raffles of Singapore*, London 1946, pp.18-120.

Collegiate foundations apart, further advances in the provision of higher education in the British Empire were made possible during the nineteenth century by the example of the University of London, which had come to offer facilities for taking degree examinations to candidates both in the United Kingdom and overseas. A despatch from Sir Charles Wood to the East India Company, at about the middle of the century, pointed out the need for a properly articulated system of education in India, from primary school to university level; universities, Wood considered, should encourage 'a regular and liberal course of education by conferring academical degrees as evidences of attainment in the different branches of arts and science.' As a result, the first Indian Universities, Bombay, Culcutta and Madras, were founded during 1857 on the London model, with the intention of providing degree opportunities for the students of a number of colleges which were already organising courses of higher education. Two further foundations were subsequently made, the Universities of the Punjab in 1882 and of Allahabad in 1887. For many years the Indian Universities remained merely examining institutions, without any likely prospect of being able to provide teaching facilities of their own. Not until a recommendation by the Universities Commission appointed by Lord Curzon in 1902, and its sequel in the Indian Universities Act of 1904, were they able to set about the organisation of teaching departments.*

A third episode in Commonwealth higher educational development was the result, not so much of United Kingdom example, as of common economic and social influences operating in the United Kingdom and the more developed parts of the overseas Dominions. A growing community spirit, which in British industrial towns often proved instrumental in founding local municipal universities, closely geared to the supply of skilled manpower for industry's needs, had its counterpart in many of the larger centres of population overseas. It became increasingly apparent that local provision must be made for producing many of the men and women with professional and administrative skills needed in the development of new countries. Such were the considerations which led to the establishment of the first Australian University at Sydney in 1850 — at a time when no new university foundations had been made in Britain apart from London and Durham — and of a series of sister universities in each of the Australian state

* *Commonwealth Universities Year-Book*, 1971, p.1070.

capitals between 1850 and 1913.[7] And such, too, were the motives behind a group of Canadian provincial foundations in Alberta (1906), Seskatchewan (1907) and British Columbia (1908). In virtually every case, the traditional faculties of arts, science, engineering, law and medicine were supplemented by degree courses in agriculture, veterinary science, architecture, education and dentistry. The attempt was being made, as in the case of British municipal universities, to adapt the traditions and disciplines of academic life to the service of a rapidly-changing technological age. This concept of a university was made plain by Professor John Woolley, in the course of his Inaugural Address as first Principal of the University of Sydney: 'It is first, what its name imports, a school of *liberal* and *general* knowledge, and secondly a collection of special schools, devoted to the learned profession . . . The former considers the learner as an end for himself, his perfection as man simply being the object of his education. The latter proposes an end out of and beyond the learner, his dexterity, namely as a professional man.'[8]

Very different considerations were involved in the foundation of the University of Hong Kong by Lord Lugard and others in 1911. The intention of the founders was to provide a centre for the study of the ancient cultural traditions of the Chinese peoples. Yet, in doing so, they showed themselves aware of the need to experiment with new teaching methods, and new forms of university organisation, suited to the circumstances of indigenous communities in Asia and Africa. 'What is required,' Lugard decided, 'is that those who are engaged in the teaching of Orientals should adapt their methods to the requirements of the East, instead of attempting to foist upon the East a system identical with that which in the West has by the process of natural evolution proved its adaptability to the particular circumstances of the West.'[9] As a result, the University of Hong Kong became the first of a new type of colonial university institutions, closely associated with academic practice in other parts of the English-speaking world, yet free to develop new educational programmes in keeping with the life and traditions of the local community to which it belonged. It

[7] The process was completed by the foundation of the Australian National University in the new Federal Territory of Canberra, during 1930.

[8] D. S. MacMillan, *Australian Universities*, Sydney 1968, p.4.

[9] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1912, pp.128-136. See also L. Forster, 'The Univ. of Hong Kong,' in *O.Q.*, 11. 7 (Sept. 1961), pp.209-210.

was already clear that universities, no less than institutions at a lower educational level, would be called upon to play their part in the policy of developing indigenous cultures, which Lugard and other imperial administrators were elaborating for the Colonial Empire as a whole.

Not all Commonwealth Universities had an intimate relationship with the British university tradition. Both the French-speaking universities of Canada, and the Afrikaans-speaking universities of South Africa, stood closer to the academic traditions of continental European countries. The former were successors to colleges founded in French Canada between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, with the dual purpose of providing recruits for the professions and preserving the Roman Catholic faith and culture of France. These aims played an important part in the foundation of *L'Universite Laval*, an institution which was incorporated as a university during 1852, and which was eventually re-organised as *L'Universite de Montreal* during 1920. Among the earlier Afrikaans-speaking foundations, Stellenbosch College, incorporated in 1881 and re-organised in 1887 as Victoria College, developed close relationships with English-speaking institutions both in South Africa and other countries; the Transvaal University College (later the University of Pretoria), incorporated in 1906, and Potchefstroom University College, incorporated in 1921, tended to maintain a rather more uncompromising adherence to the philosophy and traditions of the Dutch Reformed Church. At least one colonial institution, the Royal University of Malta, enjoyed an antiquity dating back far beyond the origins of British rule on the island.[10] Such distinctions served to provide a much wider variety of intellectual contacts than might otherwise have proved possible. And they were by no means inconsistent with the acceptance of British academic influence, in at least a number of important respects.

British experience had much to offer in resolving questions of *status*, since British Universities had never undergone the same degree of subordination to state control suffered by universities in many other parts of Europe during the nationalist upsurges of the mid-nineteenth century. The older English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, secure in their position as training-grounds for leaders in every department of national life, had found little difficulty in maintaining their traditional privileges intact, despite a judicious pruning by Acts of

[10] The Royal University of Malta was founded as a Jesuit College in 1592 by authority of Pope Clement VIII. It was raised to university status by Pope Clement XIV in 1769.

Parliament in 1854 and 1856. The newer Universities of Durham (f. 1831) and London (f. 1832), and the municipal university institutions which followed them, were all independent ventures, aimed at serving the special educational interests of particular sections of the community. So far from having reason to reduce the autonomy of the universities, successive British Governments considered it necessary to safeguard their independence from interference by outside pressure-groups, through the grant of specific rights and privileges in their charters of incorporation. With the need to make substantial grants from public funds to assist universities in meeting the rising costs of higher education, it did, indeed, become evident that university authorities must be prepared to accept some measure of accountability to Parliament. Yet the effects of this development were very considerably reduced by a fortunate administrative compromise which allowed the Universities Grants Committee, as constituted after 1911, to act as an intermediary between government and the universities.[11] The position of independence maintained by universities in the United Kingdom had an important impact in British territories overseas, where administrators showed themselves keenly aware of the part which free academic institutions could play in building up traditions of community service.

Other British influences affected the *curriculum*, since British Universities had been particularly active in attempting to find a synthesis between the classical and mathematical traditions of Western European education, and the new emphasis on functional studies which emanated from the Universities of the United States from the later years of the nineteenth century onward. By deferring to American practice, through the expansion of opportunities for postgraduate research, and through the development of many more scientific courses at undergraduate level, British Universities placed themselves in a more advantageous

[11] An *ad hoc* committee on grants to university colleges in the United Kingdom was established by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1889, and replaced by a permanent committee in 1906. This body was re-constituted in 1911 as the Advisory Committee to the Board of Education on University Grants in England and Wales. After the First World War it became responsible for assessing the financial needs of university institutions in all parts of the United Kingdom, and advising government as to the application of grants made by Parliament. Though a small number of civil servants sat on the Advisory Committee during the early years of its operation, membership was eventually confined to academic representatives. In 1972 there were twenty-one full members, and two others whose duties were confined to salary matters. See *Commonwealth Universities Year-Book*, 1972, pp.35-36.

position to assist in the maintenance of high academic standards amongst universities in the newer countries of the Commonwealth.[12]

**The Universities Congresses; establishment of the Universities Bureau**

The first concerted move towards establishing a form of permanent relationship between the Universities of the British Empire came in 1903 with the meeting of the Allied Colonial Universities Conference in the rooms of the Royal Society in Burlington House. The main instigator of the meeting was apparently Gilbert Parker, Member of Parliament for Gravesend, and a man with unusually wide Commonwealth experience, since he had been educated in Toronto, and had served as a writer for the Sydney *Morning Herald*. Under Parker's influence, representatives from thirty-one universities and colleges in Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa were brought together to discuss and approve two resolutions: 'that . . . it is desirable that such relations should be established between the principal teaching Universities of the Empire as will secure that special or local advantages for study, and in particular for post-graduate study and research, be made as accessible as possible to students from all parts of the King's Dominions;' 'that a Council, consisting in part of representatives of British and Colonial Universities, be appointed to promote the objects set out in the previous Resolution.'[13]

Very little was achieved by the Conference in deciding upon ways in which these aims could be carried into practical effect. Indeed, delegates showed remarkably little awareness of opportunities for co-operation in teaching and research between institutions in different parts of the world. Overseas delegates appear to have assumed an attitude of extreme deference towards the Universities of the United Kingdom; an exception was the Vice-Chancellor of McGill who pointed out that in certain subjects, notably mining, British students might benefit from postgraduate studies in Montreal. United Kingdom delegates appear to have shown little interest in the work of their overseas colleges, though the Principal of London University, Sir Arthur Rucker, reminded his audience that there was little point in encouraging colonial students to know something of England, 'unless

[12] See W. H. G. Armytage, *The American Influence on English Educ.*, London 1967.
[13] E. Ashby, *Community of Universities*, Cambridge 1963, pp.2-3, and *Empire Review*, VI (1903-1904), pp.65-128.

the average Englishman also knows something of the Empire beyond the seas."[14]

A more decisive step followed during November 1909, when Rucker's successor, Dr (later Sir) Henry Miers, persuaded the Senate of London University to adopt a resolution calling for an Imperial Universities Congress to be held in conjunction with the Imperial Education Conference of 1911. Miers had already played a leading part in developing the work of his own institution among external students overseas. During the months which followed the passing of the resolution he concentrated his efforts on winning the support of the authorities of other British Universities, notably Oxford and Cambridge. It was eventually judged advisable to postpone the Congress until 1912, and in the meantime to appoint a Home Universities Committee, consisting of the Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the United Kingdom Universities, with responsibility to organise a programme of events.[15]

The London University resolution also stimulated activity in universities overseas. A Preliminary Conference of Canadian Universities, convened by Principal Peterson of McGill and President Falconer of Toronto, put forward suggestions for inter-university co-operation in drawing up the agenda of the Congress, and sent a summary of its proceedings for consideration by the Universities of India and Australia. A Conference of Australian Universities was held shortly afterwards at Sydney, whilst the Vice-Chancellors of the Indian Universities arranged an informal meeting just before the Durbar of 1911. In this way, it seemed, the attempt to achieve closer co-operation between the Universities of the Empire was likely to have the additional effect of encouraging closer cohesion among the universities of each individual territory.

Representatives of some fifty-three university institutions at length came together in London during July 1912. Their discussions were chiefly concerned with the general principles of future co-operation. Significantly, perhaps, there was no attempt to encourage a measure of uniformity between different institutions; as the Colonial Secretary (Lewis Harcourt) reminded delegates, divergences in academic practice still provided important advantages in an age when specialisation had come to stay. Nevertheless, general agreement was reached on the need to take practical steps towards more effective methods of collaboration and mutual assistance. It was decided that regular congresses of

[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1912, p.IX.

the Universities of the Empire should be held at intervals of five years; that there should be annual meetings of the Home Universities Committee and, as far as practicable, of university representatives in each Dominion; and that a committee of the Congress should be formed to make arrangements for the establishment of a Bureau of Information for the Universities of the Empire in London.[16]

The project for a Bureau, representing as it did the first attempt to provide a permanent agency for educational co-operation between the countries of the British Empire, opened up a new range of possibilities for the future. In one of the most thoughtful papers read before the Congress of 1912, Sir George Parker, Organising Representative of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust, pointed to the wide variety of knowledge and experience available amongst university teachers throughout the Empire. 'Are we,' he asked, 'utilising this experience and recording its results in any adequate way, so that the lessons learned and the progress made in different parts of the Empire may be at the service of all?' One of the most urgent needs of the time, he believed, was the provision of facilities for gathering and distributiong information on a variety of matters related to the work of universities.[17] When the Universities Bureau came into being, later in 1912, its officials set about immediate measures to supply this deficiency. They began the publication of a *Universities Year Book*, setting out in clear and logical form all essential information about the Universities of the Empire, and the opportunities which they offered for study in various fields. The appearance of such a work was an event of very considerable significance. It presented students of higher education with an annual record of the progress of individual institutions, details of changes in staff, and statistics of students and qualifications gained. And, at the same time, it provided information which was of considerable assistance in the exchange of staff and migration of students from one institution to another. The effect of this second the entire field of possible applicants could be reached at one time. While setting its face against any acceptance of responsibility for making appointments on its own account, the Bureau provided facilities for advertising and interviewing at its London offices which proved particularly valuable in meeting the needs of overseas institutions.[18]

Other functions of the Bureau, as laid down by the resolutions of the Congress of 1912, required it 'to carry on the work initiated

[16] *Ibid.*, p.372.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp.309-316.
[18] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1926, p.263.

by the present Congress; 'to maintain its connection with any that follow;' and 'to furnish a channel of free communication in the intervals.'[19] The main responsibility for achieving these objectives was placed in the hands of a Bureau Executive Committee, consisting of seven members nominated by the overseas universities, and seven by the universities in the United Kingdom. With the onset of the First World War, and the period of economic difficulty which followed it, formidable difficulties were placed in the way of the Committee's work, forcing it to confine its activities very largely to the United Kingdom university system. Nevertheless, a decisive advance was achieved in May 1917 when representatives of the United Kingdom Universities came together for the first of a series of Conferences on matters concerning their own special interests.[20] One of the results of this conference, which had important implications for overseas universities, was a recommendation that doctorates in philosophy should be instituted, as a means of widening opportunities for research and encouraging more enrollments for postgraduate study by students from abroad. Another decision of the conference led to the establishment of a Standing Committee formed by the Vice-Chancellors and Principals of United Kingdom Universities, and the Bureau Executive Committee, to consider matters of importance which might arise from time to time, or which might be submitted to it by the British Government.[21]

These activities on the part of the United Kingdom Universities served to give encouragement to similar developments overseas. A resolution of the Congress of 1912 had deemed it 'desirable that the Universities of the various Dominions of the King overseas should arrange for periodic meetings of their representatives.' With the aid of vigorous prodding from the Universities Bureau, the machinery for such meetings was gradually brought into being in a number of countries. Canadian Universities held regular annual conferences after 1916. Australian Universities formed a Standing Committee on the United Kingdom model in 1920, and held the first of their annual conferences during the following year. In South Africa the Vice-Chancellors decided to act together as a Standing Committee, with power sto make regulations on matters of common concern. A conference of Indian Universities, meeting at Simla

[19] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1912, pp.309-316.

[20] Later United Kingdom conferences dealt, amongst other matters, with the appointment of a British Universities Mission to the United States (1918-19), the interchange of students and teachers, the tenure of university offices, and relations between universities and teachers' training colleges.

in 1924, agreed to set up an Inter-Universities Board. With such developments in progress on a national level, it became evident that much more effective results could be expected from any schemes for international co-operation embarked upon in the future.[22]

Attempts made by the Bureau to arange a second Congress, as a sequel to the meeting in 1912, ran into difficulties of various kinds. There could be no possibility of going ahead with arrangements until after the war, and even then a further postponement had to be accepted on the advice of the British Government, who felt that it would be difficult to secure sufficient passages for delegates from overseas. When, however, the Congress eventually met at Oxford, in July 1921, it was significant that the agenda no longer provided for discussion merely on general principles of co-operation, but on a number of specific topics concerned with the role of universities in the contemporary world. Several of these topics — 'The Universities and Technological Education;' 'University Finance;' 'The Universities and Research; 'Interchange of Teachers and Students;' — gave some indication of the extent to which North American ideas had come to influence the thinking of the English—speaking university world since the early years of the twentieth century. Moreover, though delegates were aware that they could attempt little more than a superficial examination of a large number of difficult problems, at least many of their suggestions opened up new possibilities of experiment and innovation during the years to follow. It was proposed, for instance, that professors should be entitled to a sabbatical year at regular intervals; that junior posts should be created in United Kingdom Universities for graduates from overseas; that a trust should be established to assist the migration of students; and that efforts should be made to ensure the mutual recognition of courses and examinations.[23]

All these matters were again considered by the third Universities Congress, held at Cambridge during 1926. The course of the discussions revealed a much more realistic awareness of the range and complexity of the problems involved. Delegates noted that it was comparatively easy for distinguished professors to move from one Commonwealth country to another, but more difficult — though certainly no less desirable — for junior members of staff to do likewise; moreover, the absence of

[21] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1926, p.266.
[22] *Ibid.*, p.268.
[23] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1921, p.XIX.

reciprocal pension arrangements produced difficulties which were no less severe than in the case of teachers at other levels. It was thought that students should not normally emigrate before the completion of a first degree, though there was approval for a much more frequent interchange of graduate students along lines already being developed by United States Universities in France, Belgium and Germany. On the question of mutual recognition of courses and examinations, there was a wide variety of suggestions, but no substantial progress of any kind.[24] Apparently, like their colleagues in attendance at the Imperial Education Conference of the following year, university representatives felt baffled by a series of administrative and legal problems, the solution to which lay largely outside their control.

Not a great deal of progress proved possible during the two remaining Congresses held before the outbreak of the Second World War. Delegates to the fourth Congress at London in 1931 were unsympathetic to any large-scale expansion in the number of overseas students accepted for courses in Britain, on the grounds that educational handicaps imposed by language and different patterns of pre-university preparation were often difficult to overcome. They thought it preferable that overseas universities should concentrate on improving both the quality and variety of the courses which they could provide, and that only students of outstanding calibre should be sent away to Britain.[25] Prospects for the interchange of staff became a little brighter when the fifth Congress, meeting at Cambridge during 1936, voted unanimously that a committee should be set up to investigate the matter.[26] However, the committee was never able to present a report. With the onset of a major international conflict, and of the changes in political and social circumstances which accompanied it, there was a need for a much more comprehensive assessment of the future priorities in higher education before any new schemes could be put into operation.

Chief responsibility for administering the affairs of the Universities Bureau rested in the hands of the Secretary, Dr Alex Hill, a distinguished neurologist and university administrator who had carried out the task of organising the original Congress in 1912.[27] Amongst the

[24] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1926, pp.109, 112-114 and 142-145.
[25] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1931, pp.180-201.
[26] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1936, pp.230-231.
[27] The Senate of London University had originally appointed Dr R. D. Roberts, the Extension Registrar, as Secretary to the first Universities Congress. However, Roberts died during 1911 and was succeeded by Dr Hill, a former Master of Downing College, Cambridge, and then serving as Principal of University College, Southampton.

Secretary's most onerous duties were the collection of material for inclusion in the *Universities Year Book*, the planning and editing of the early volumes, and the superintendance of a wide variety of business arrangements. He was also called upon to act as intermediary between universities in different parts of the Empire, and between the United Kingdom Universities and the British Government, in a variety of difficult matters. Under Dr Hill's administration, the dual function of the Bureau, as agent both for the Universities of the Commonwealth as a whole and for the United Kingdom Universities in matters concerning their own particular interests, worked well, and tended to encourage more effective co-operation between university authorities in Britain and overseas. It had the advantage of ensuring a measure of financial support from the British Government, including a substantial grant towards the cost of acquiring permanent premises in 1919.[28] However, though Dr Hill showed remarkable industry and enthusiasm in serving the interests of the English-speaking university world, there is evidence that he was a good deal less cordial in his relations with the universities of the European mainland.

One instance of this was provided by the attempts of the League of Nations Central Committee of Intellectual Co-Operation to establish a working relationship with the Universities of the British Empire. For several months after the formation of the Committee in 1922, Hill appears to have done his best to co-operate in various ways. However, before long he grew resentful of the activities of the Committee's officials whom he believed — whether with justification or not — to be 'merely attempting to found something which calls for work, in order to retain their posts and create jobs for others.' Though willing to admit that the support of Commonwealth and American institutions was essential to the success of any international scheme for co-operation in higher education, he was nevertheless resentful at an apparent attempt to interfere with the discharge of the Bureau's responsibilities towards the Universities of the Empire.[29] When, during 1923, he was approached by the Secretary of the Committee with a request to supply information for an international universities year book, he responded by raising a number of trivial difficulties.[30] He continued to maintain an unco-operative attitude later in the same year when the Committee took steps to establish an International Universities Information Office.

[28] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1926, p.265.
[29] P.R.O., Ed. 25/1, Dr. A. Hill to Sir G. Adam Smith, 7 Nov. 1923.
[30] *Ibid.*, same to Prof. O. Halecki, 28 Feb. 1923.

To requests for meetings with League of Nations officials he wrote replies which were terse and frigid in style, giving no hint of co-operation in any form, or indeed of any willingness to take time off for a meeting, except over dinner at his club.[31]

Further difficulties were produced by a resolution of the League of Nations Assembly on 27 September 1923 calling for the establishment of National Committees on Intellectual Co-Operation. There could be little doubt that implementation of the resolution by the British and other Commonwealth Governments would be regarded as a test of sincerity in their co-operation with the cultural activities of the League. Hill's uncompromising hostility to the proposals was made evident in a letter to Sir Donald MacAlister, Chairman of the British Universities Standing Committee: 'I hope you won't trouble to read them unless or until occasion prompts you. Any National Committee other than the Standing Committee would be an absurdity.'[32] As it happened, Hill's feelings were already shared by many others, in both official and unofficial circles in Britain, since the scheme for National Committees had been launched at Paris, under the auspices of the French Government, and was therefore seen as a possible attempt at cultural propaganda by France. It was apparently in deference to British sensitivities that government made no attempt to establish a National Committee, preferring instead to make the Universities Bureau formally responsible for all correspondence with League of Nations organisations. Even these arrangements, however, were little to Hill's liking. In a letter to the Central Committee for Intellectual Co-Operation he declared that since the aims and methods of both Bureau and Committee were substantially the same, 'no further action is at present called for.'[33] When he read shortly afterwards in the Committee's *Bulletin* a statement that the Bureau had agreed to act as 'the National Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation for Great Britain,' he wrote off again to deny hotly that he had accepted any function other than that of correspondent.[34] Not till 1928 — and then only under pressure from the British Government, which had become increasingly aware that the absence of a National Committee might lead to unpopularity abroad — did he agree to the Bureau being used, in co-operation with a number of other cultural organisations, as the basis

[31] *Ibid.*, Report of first meeting of Board of Internat. Univs. Information Off., Jan. 1924, and Dr A. Hill to G. Oprescu, 2 Sept. 1924.
[32] *Ibid.*, Dr A. Hill to Sir D. MacAlister, 15 Feb. 1924.
[33] *Ibid.*, same to G. Oprescu, 8 Apr. 1925.
[34] *Ibid.*, same to same, 20 July 1925.

for a Committee of the kind requested by the League of Nations.[35]

There can be little doubt that Hill's intransigence played a major part in delaying any move towards closer co-operation between the Universities of the Commonwealth and the European mainland, at a time when the sharing of mutual knowledge and experience might have brought immeasurable benefits to all concerned. Yet the fault was certainly not Hill's alone. The administration of the Bureau during his term of office called for constant cheese-paring and overwork, due to insufficient income, inadequate staffing and unsatisfactory office accommodation. To have undertaken any large-scale expansion in operations, with the limited resources at his disposal, must have led, inescapeably, to a less efficient performance of those duties for which the Bureau was already responsible.

On Hill's death in 1929, it was decided to appoint another distinguished university administrator, Sir Frank Heath, as Honorary Director of the Bureau, with authority to organise a comprehensive measure of reform.[36] Hill had already produced new Draft Articles of Association, fixing higher annual subscriptions as the basis of membership. Though this suggestion was rejected by the Universities Congress of 1931, as liable to bear too harshly on some of the less affluent institutions overseas, it was nevertheless decided to call for larger contributions from those which could afford to pay. On the assumption that there would now be a more satisfactory basis of financial support, arrangements were made to move the Bureau from the premises which it had previously occupied on Russell Square, to a newly-erected building in Gower Street. An even more far-reaching change, made on the advice of Sir Frank Heath, concerned the arrangements for administration. Down to 1930 the Bureau had been jointly run by its Executive Committee and the Standing Committee of British Vice-Chancellors and Principals. Control was then vested, however,

[35] P.R.O., Ed. 25/3, S. Gaselee to Dr A. Hill, 2 Jan. 1928, and P.R.O., Ed. 25/2, Minutes of Meeting in British Museum, 24 May 1928.

[36] Since Sir Frank Heath was also Honorary Secretary of the newly-formed National Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation, he was able to ensure close liaison with that body. He had already held the offices of Registrar and Acting Treasurer of London University (1901-3) and Director of Special Inquiries and Reports to the Board of Education (1903-16).

in the Executive Committee alone.[37] This development, coming at a time when the Dominions had at last successfully asserted their right to complete independence of Britain, as guaranteed by the Balfour Declaration of 1926, was a realistic attempt to keep pace with the course of international events. From then on it was only reasonable to expect that there would be demands for a wider sharing of responsibility in planning university co-operation through the Commonwealth as a whole.

**The Asquith Commission and the Foundation of University Colleges in the Colonies**

The growing interest in social reform, evident amongst British imperial administrators during the years which followed the passing of the first Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1929, could hardly fail to have important implications in the field of higher education. It was necessary to produce larger numbers of educated local leaders, capable of taking a substantial measure of responsibility for the development of their own communities. During the late 1930s there were discussions concerning the desirability of establishing university institutions in certain parts of the Colonial Empire, leading eventually to a series of on-the-spot investigations conducted by the De La Warr Commission in East Africa (1937), the McLean Commission in Malaya (1939), and the Pickard-Cambridge Commission on Fourah Bay College (1939). The Report of the De La Warr Commission was particularly memorable because of its frank acceptance of the need to achieve a balance between programmes of education designed for the masses, and those intended to assist the legitimate aspirations of the minority who were capable of advanced studies: 'A system of education must always provide for the development of those who have reached and exceeded the standards aimed at by the majority and who will be in the vanguard of the future progress of the whole group. To penalise that small group by forcing it to mark time while the majority is making up leeway would be a reactionary measure.'[38]

Even in the difficult circumstances of the war-time years, it was thought necessary to move ahead with one major scheme for higher education in the colonies. The University of Ceylon, founded during

[37] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1931, pp.208-209 and 252-265.
[38] Col. No. 142, *Report of Commission on Higher Educ. in East Africa*, 1937, p.12.

1942, represented an attempt to supply educational facilities of a kind which had been keenly demanded by local opinion for many years before.

Then, during 1943, at a time when British ministers were contemplating far-reaching changes in colonial policy, it was decided to appoint a Royal Commission under Mr Justice A.C. Asquith 'to consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the Colonies,' and the means whereby 'universities and other appropriate bodies in the United Kingdom may be able to co-operate with institutions of higher education in the Colonies in order to give effect to these principles.'[39] The Asquith Commissioners were aware that it was difficult to generalise, since each individual region must receive special consideration in its own right.[40] Nevertheless, in keeping with a long-standing tradition amongst framers of education policy in the British Colonial Empire, they attempted to lay down certain principles, as a basis for future development.

Their starting-point was the traditional concept of a university, as a centre of scholarship and learning. 'It is not enough,' they decided, 'that a professional man should attain competence in his own subject; association with the life of a university will give him a large range of interest and enhance his value, both in pursuit of his profession and as a member of society.'[41] However, any attempt to implant university traditions in developing countries overseas would require generous allowance of time and experience, since it was inconceivable that newly-established colonial universities could achieve adequate resources of influence and prestige right away. As a means of ensuring a progressive development of satisfactory academic standards, they suggested the preliminary step of setting up university colleges, differing from universities only in that they would lack the power of conferring degrees. Until such time as the university colleges had achieved an acceptable international standing in their own right, students should be examined for degrees by a competent academic body in the United Kingdom, which would satisfy itself that the standards and practices proper to a university were being maintained. After a number of alternative arrangements had been considered, the Commissioners

[39] Cmd. 6647, *Report of Commission on Higher Educ. in the Colonies*, 1945, p.1.
[40] *Ibid.*, p.3.
[41] *Ibid.*, p.12.

decided to recommend that this function should be entrusted to the University of London, which already enjoyed substantial experience in the awarding of external degrees. They proposed that overseas university colleges should be admitted into 'special relationship' with London, under conditions designed to meet the needs of each individual case. Furthermore, as a means of co-ordinating the work of Universities in the United Kingdom with that of sister-institutions overseas, they suggested the establishment of an Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, and of a Colonial Universities Grants Committee to supervise the distribution of financial support.[42]

Administrative arrangements apart, the Asquith Commissioners had a number of important observations to make concerning the features to be encouraged in any academic community overseas. One feature of the British academic tradition, in particular, was heavily stressed in their report: 'In our view it is essential that colonial universities should be autonomous in the sense in which the universities of Great Britain are autonomous — *the colonial universities should in effect, have full freedom to manage their own affairs.*'[43] It followed that academic freedom must be safeguarded from any encroachment by the state, whether represented by the British imperial power, or by any local power which might succeed it. Each new institution should be invested with a charter, empowering it to conduct the government of its own affairs without interference by any outside authority. Again, the Asquith Commissioners were anxious to ensure that the university colleges should be open to all, without distinction of race, religion or creed; in the selection of students and staff, the only criteria to be accepted must be academic achievement, and general suitability for university education.[44] As a particularly desirable feature in institutions where students were likely to come from a wide variety of geographic and home background and school experience, it was considered that facilities should be provided for residence. The Commissioners were not unaware of special physical conditions in a number of countries, where suitable lodgings were not easy to find, and where it was sometimes difficult to maintain adequate standards of health. Yet their main arguments in favour of residence were based on the purely sociological benefits to be derived from collegiate life; 'nothing', it was affirmed, 'could minister more effectively to a spirit of unity where communities are

[42] *Ibid.*, pp.13-14 and 38-41.
[43] *Ibid.*, p.34.
[44] *Ibid.*, p.15.

divided by racial or sectional differences.[45] Finally, there was a recognition of the importance of developing close relationships between university institutions and the communities of which they formed part. In enunciating a principle which had already been aired at successive Universities Congresses, and was to receive increasingly general acceptance during the years which followed, the Asquith Commissioners declared that students should, whenever possible, receive their undergraduate training within their home territories, so as to enable them to acquire an affinity with the traditions and way of life of the people amongst whom they lived.[46]

The Asquith Report contained no arguments for or against the siting of university colleges in particular parts of the Colonial Empire It merely directed attention to five main regions whose claims were considered to be of paramount importance: Malaya, the West Indies, East and West Africa, and the Sudan.[47] However, these regions proved to be the first to receive attention from British imperial administrators during the years which followed.

Hopes for the establishment of a university institution had been running high in the West Indies since the early 1930s, only to be dashed by the refusal of the West India Royal Commission in 1940 to recommend the establishment of anything more than a teachers' college. However, a Committee formed from members of the Asquith Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir James Irvine, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of St. Andrew's, recommended during 1945 that a University of the West Indies should be established at the earliest possible date. As a preliminary step, it was suggested that the British Government should set up a university college, which, in accordance with the principles laid down by the Asquith Commission, should be supervised by a university of long-standing repute. Students might, perhaps, be prepared for the Arts and Science degrees of London University, and the Medical degrees of McGill University. The period of apprenticeship should, in any event, be of short duration, and in a very few years the college should be given a Royal Charter and enabled to begin an autonomous life under its own Council and Senate.[48] Residence, a feature already stressed by the Asquith Commission, was

[45] *Ibid.*, pp.15-16.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp.30-33.
[47] *Ibid.*, pp.30-33.
[48] Cmd. 6654, *Report of West Indies Committee of Commission on Higher Educ. in the Colonies*, 1945, para.22.

considered to be an essential prerequisite of a university institution in a multi-racial society like that of the West Indies.[49] Moreover, since extensive financial outlay would be needed, both to meet capital costs and to make provision for recurrent expenditure, generous assistance should be forthcoming from the British authorities. Such assistance should be given, not only on moral and humanitarian grounds, but as a sensible investment for the future:

> The forms of imperial control and even of influence are changing in response to the changing needs of to-day, and the time is coming for the Colonies, as it did for the Dominions, when the bond of common culture and the strengthening of ties of an unofficial and often invisible kind will assume greater importance than the forms of constitutional authority. There could be no gift from Britain more rich in its future possibilities than that which we now recommend.[50]

The foundation of the University College of the West Indies, by immediate grant of Royal Charter in 1949, with a substantial endowment from the United Kingdom Exchequer, represented a complete acceptance of the recommendations of the Irvine Committee by British ministers. A number of special circumstances, notably its multi-racial background, and the need to establish contact with widely-scattered island communities, meant that the College must assume something of the function of a pioneering institution, capable of providing valuable lessons for other territories in the Commonwealth. Clear recognition of this on the part of the College authorities was shown by their intention to move ahead with two particular aspects of university work for which the circumstances of the West Indies were well-fitted: extra-mural studies and research in agriculture.[51]

At about the same time when the Asquith Commission was laying down general principles for the development of higher education in the British Colonial Empire as a whole, a Commission under the chairmanship of Walter Elliott, Rector of Aberdeen University, was reaching broadly similar conclusions concerning the particular case of the West African region. Some attention had already been directed to West Africa by the Pickard-Cambridge Commission on Fourah Bay College in 1939, which reported that there was an urgent need for a

[49] *Ibid.*, para.23.
[50] *Ibid.*, para.196.
[51] Special relationship continued until 1962, two years after the achievement of independent status as the University of the West Indies.

large-scale injection of finance, if the College was to fulfil any wider purpose than that of a theological institution.[52] Yet a very different situation presented itself only a few years later, as the Elliott Commissioners were only too well aware:

> Far-reaching changes are inevitable. The West Africans have gone to the wars. They have been instructed in the handling of new machinery. Their troops have been trained to the highest levels . . . We do not know what views the soldier will take of affairs when he returns; but they will certainly have changed from the views with which he went out. Again, coal, the pillar of industry, exists in West Africa, and sooner or later this is bound to take its place in the pattern of our time . . . the existence of lignite beds in Sierra Leone, and also in Southern Nigeria, to a hitherto unsuspected extent, has only recently been verified. The manganese and gold of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone are already well recognised factors in world economy.[53]

The result, as the Commissioners saw it, could only mean a dramatic advance towards political responsibility:

> Somewhere, in West Africa, within a century, within half a century . . . a new African state will be born. It will be strong. Its voice will be listened for, wherever there are Africans or African-descended communities, and that is to say both in the Old World and the New. It will have a vital need for councillors, its own councillors. Now is the time, and the time is already late, to train them for their work.[54]

This training, it was considered, must eventually be provided by the establishment of a university in each of the larger British Colonies in West Africa. However, since a long time must elapse before a corporate university, granting its own degrees, could emerge in any of the West African Colonies, other institutions, capable of teaching up to the first degree standard, should be brought into being with minimum delay. University colleges should be established in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, while there should be some re-organisation and extension of the work of Fourah Bay College, in Sierra Leone.[55] The Elliott Commissioners were already aware of the proposals being made by the Asquith Commission for the establishment of an Inter-University Council, and for a

[52] Col. No. 169, *Report of Commission on Fourah Bay Coll.* 1939, pp.22-23.
[53] Cmd. 6655, *Report of Commission on Higher Educ. in West Africa*, para.62.
[54] *Ibid.*, para.63.
[55] *Ibid.*, para.45.

close relationship between overseas university colleges and the University of London; to both they gave their approval on the eminently reasonable grounds that 'qualifications obtained in West Africa should be regarded as an adequate basis for postgraduate work by other British Universities.'[56] It was clearly intended that West African students should maintain parity of standards with the United Kingdom, no matter what temptations there might be to produce large numbers of graduates, with qualifications of a more moderate kind. Nevertheless they laid much firmer emphasis than the Asquith Commission had done on the development of programmes of higher education especially suited to the cultures and traditions of the several countries concerned: 'The universities will themselves have to find out the ways in which they can best serve their own communities and the communities which lie beyond their borders.'[57]

The recommendations of the Elliot Commission took shape in a decision by the British Government to establish two new university institutions, the University College of the Gold Coast, and Ibadan, Nigeria, both founded in 1949, and to expand the activities of Fourah Bay College, which eventually became the University College of Sierra Leone in 1960. In each case, British educational planning was based on one fundamental compromise: whilst the autonomy and academic standing of the West African institutions were to be guaranteed by their association with United Kingdom university authorities, they were nevertheless expected to work out new curricula and programmes of research appropriate to local needs.

Much the same compromise was evident in East Africa. Makerere College, Uganda, founded as a government technical school in 1922, and subsequently developed as a centre of higher studies, was raised to the status of a university college in 1949, whilst the University Colleges of Dar es Salaam and Nairobi came into being during 1961. Though there was no new investigation of the educational needs of the region during the years which followed the publication of the Asquith Report, the way ahead had been pointed out by the De La Warr Commission, as early as 1937: 'The African is emerging from his primary traditions, and a new Africa, with a new type of society is being evolved. This new society will possess its own moral and other sanctions which in some respects will be partly Western and partly African, and in

[56] *Ibid.*, paras.112, 124 and 127.
[57] *Ibid.*, p.121.

other respects neither African nor Western.'[58] It could be concluded that the principles of British Colonial education policy in Africa, developed with particular relevance to primary and secondary schooling during the 1920s and early 1930s, were already being applied to the task of creating new institutions of higher education, capable of giving expression to the values and aspirations which Africans themselves had in mind.

In Malaya, the McLean Commission, reporting in 1939, had recommended the creation of a University College of Malaya through the fusion of Raffles College and King Edward VII College of Medicine, Singapore. Yet the subsequent period of Japanese occupation, and of British Military Administration which followed it — causing the two Colleges at Singapore more serious disruption than was suffered by any other institutions of higher education in the Commonwealth — made it necessary to engage in much more far-reaching measures of re-construction. The report of a Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, presented in 1948, and carried into effect by the British Government two years later, called for the immediate establishment of a University of Malaya, without any transition through the status of a university college. As the Carr-Saunders Commission pointed out, the position of Malaya was significantly different from that of African territories, since both the institutions at Singapore had already acquired many of the characteristics of university organisation.[59] Moreover, it could be hoped that the creation of a University of Malaya would provide 'a common centre where varieties of race, religion and economic interest could mingle in joint endeavour.'[60] However, these considerations apart, Carr-Saunders and his colleagues were at one with the Asquith Commissioners in maintaining that a colonial university institution must have the same degree of autonomy in deciding its own affairs as was enjoyed by the Universities of the United Kingdom.[61]

Central Africa, the last main region directly affected by the recommendations of the Asquith Report, had not, in fact, been singled out by the Commissioners for special attention in the future. Yet there had already been local attempts to arouse interest in a university

[58] Col. No. 142, *Report of Commission on Higher Educ. in East Africa*, 1937, p.11.
[59] Col. No. 229, *Report of Commission on Univ. Educ. in Malaya*, 1948, pp.4-5.
[60] *Ibid.*, p.7.
[61] *Ibid.*, pp.87-102.

foundation, starting from very different premises to those outlined in the Asquith Report. A gift from a philanthropic businessman, J. P. Kapnek, made during 1943, enabled the Government of Southern Rhodesia to set up a Trust Fund for the establishment of a University of Rhodesia at Salisbury. A Bill passed by the Southern Rhodesia Legislature during 1952, established a University Inaugural Board, with power to make arrangements for the erection of buildings, appointment of staff, and other administrative matters. So far, there was no clear indication of the specific aims of the new institution, or what its character was likely to be. However, it was, perhaps, significant that whilst the Southern Rhodesia Act laid down that 'no test of religious or political belief' was to be imposed on those intending to become students or staff, there was nothing to prevent a prohibition on grounds of race.[62] In the special circumstances of Southern Rhodesian society, where a small minority of European ancestry looked anxiously for means of preserving its ascendancy over an African majority, there were certainly good reasons for fearing that schemes for higher education would take too little account of the need to bring together students from different racial groups in the same academic community.

Meanwhile, British imperial administrators had begun to take an interest in the establishment of a central African university, for certain reasons of their own. During 1949 a Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Harold Cartmel-Robinson reported to the Central African Council[63] that there was an immediate need for university facilities in the three British central African territories of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. They repeated their recommendation in a second report two years later, calling for a Royal Commission to investigate the matter.[64] A Commission subsequently appointed by the British Government under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders came down heavily on the side of a new university foundation. The Commissioners argued that there was a potential demand for university graduates in an area where social problems tended to arise not

[62] N. Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians*, London 1972, pp.150-1.

[63] The Central African Council was set up in 1948 to provide machinery for consultation between the Governments of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on matters of common concern, notably communications, economic relations and education.

[64] N. Atkinson, p.149. The situation had been made more urgent by a decision of the South African Government, late in 1950, to admit no more African students from outside their borders, because of a growing pressure on university places from amongst their own African population.

from 'the lack of openings for university-educated Africans but the absence of university facilities.'[65] They felt it to be important that there should be no departure from the principles laid down by the Asquith Commission on university autonomy, residence and the maintenance of academic standards. Yet in view of the special circumstances of a multi-racial society, in which tensions ran particularly deep, they added two further recommendations on their own account: the new institution, they considered, should be encouraged to develop an unusually vigorous intellectual life, qualifying it to rank alongside other British Universities; again, in order to overcome the difficulties of legislating in three different territories, and, perhaps, as an added protection against political interference, it should be founded under the authority of a Royal Charter, as had already been done in the case of the University College of the West Indies.[66]

The suggestions made by the Carr-Saunders Commission aroused considerable controversy in each of the three territories concerned. However, before long, even more far-reaching considerations were introduced into the situation by a decision of the British Government, carried into effect during 1953, to bring the three territories together in a Central African Federation. The intention was to seek the co-operation of the European minority in Southern Rhodesia in a new experiment in partnership between the races, in return for the bestowal of something of the political independence which its leaders had been demanding for many years. From an early stage in the experiment, British ministers showed themselves to be keenly aware of the part which a multi-racial university institution might play in promoting harmonious community relations.[67] They worked to achieve a marriage between the Carr-Saunders Commission's proposals, and the arrangements already being put into operation by the Rhodesian Inaugural Board. When the Southern Rhodesian prime minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, declared in favour of the multi-racial principle, it became possible to press forward with arrangements.

Under the terms of a Royal Charter, dated 10 February 1955, the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was established with the proviso that 'no test of religious belief or profession or of race, nationality or class' might be imposed on any of its members. During the eight years which followed, the College authorities attempted to

[65] *Report of Commission on Higher Educ. on Central Africa*, 1953, p.28.
[66] *Ibid.*, pp.30-33.
[67] *Hansard* 5, CCCCCXV. 407-19,

deal with the difficult and sometimes demoralising task of attempting to win the confidence of all the communities in the Central African Federation. Their difficulties were made immeasurably greater by the dissolution of the Central African Federation in 1963, and the sequence of political events which led to a Unilateral Declaration of Independence by a Rhodesian Front Government two years later. In the new role of local university institution for the territory of Southern Rhodesia alone, the College was forced to exist in the shadow of bitter political controversies outside its walls. It remained to be seen how far its multiracial character could survive unscathed. At the same time, the international contacts, so vital to the life of an academic community, became ever more difficult to maintain. In these unfavourable circumstances, the attitude of the Commonwealth, and, in particular, the willingness of member-countries to assist in the recruitment of suitable staff, was likely to be a matter of crucial importance.[68]

### The Ashby Commission and the Foundation of Universities in New States

The achievement of the planners of the Asquith university colleges, in carrying out the most comprehensive programme of university development yet attempted outside Europe or North America, cannot easily be over-stressed. By welding the new overseas institutions onto the traditions and standards of British university life, they opened the way for a steady advance towards recognition by the international academic community as a whole. And by asserting the right of a university institution to enjoy complete autonomy in the conduct of its own affairs, they created a situation in which individual institutions were free to develop in their own distinctive way, without having to give undue attention to outside pressures of various kinds. Nevertheless the balance struck by the Asquith Commissioners was unsatisfactory in that it was intended merely to meet the transitory circumstances of the final phase of colonial rule. Questions remained to be asked, on the one hand, if the British academic tradition alone could provide sufficient stimulus for the development of institutions of higher education overseas, and, on the other, if national aspirations in newly-independent

[68] N. Atkinson, pp.152-3. In 1970 the University College's special relationship with London University and the Medical School of Birmingham University began to be phased-out and it proceeded to assume the status of an independent University of Rhodesia

states would lead them to grow impatient of any form of tutelage, exercised by academic authorities in the United Kingdom.

During the later 1950s, as colonial communities moved rapidly towards the achievement of independent status, the influence of nationalism came to have a much more powerful effect. Nationalist ideology demanded from universities, not only that they should continue to produce balanced and capable leaders of public opinion, but that they should contribute to the economic advancement of new national states. This situation was reflected in the thinking of a Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Eric Ashby, called to report on the future of post-School Certificate and higher education in Nigeria, on the eve of independence in 1960. The Commissioners recommended that Nigeria should have three new universities, to supplement the facilities already provided at Ibadan. Yet none of the three new institutions should be subordinate to an overseas university, though they might decide to establish various overseas relationships, of a rather informal kind. Moreover, on the grounds that the British university structure was, in many ways, too inflexible to meet the needs of a developing country in Africa, Nigerians were urged to work out new patterns of higher education for themselves. There might, the Commission thought, be something to be gained through an adaptation of the more flexible American university practice, which was not necessarily incompatible with high academic standards.[69]

The proposals of the Ashby Commission marked the beginning of an important new phase in university education in the Commonwealth. They rested on a belief that there was already in the West African territories an academic community of sufficient strength and variety to justify the addition of several new university institutions. And, at the same time, they represented an expression of confidence in the machinery of co-operation devised by the Asquith Commissioners, and the prospects for adapting it to the service of fully-independent universities. When, in due course, the Federal Government of the newly-independent state of Nigeria gave its unqualified approval to the Ashby Commission's recommendations, it seemed that the situation was ripe for a series of new and even more ambitious experiments in university development in different parts of the African continent.

The three new universities subsequently established in Nigeria were, in fact, memorable as the first in English-speaking Africa to begin their

[69] *Report of Commission on Post-School Cert. and Higher Educ. in Nigeria*, 1960, pp.22-30.

life with full university status.[70] Though they looked, inescapably, to overseas institutions for assistance in various ways, it was made clear that this was to be achieved through informal arrangements, between institutions of equal status. Moreover, the nature and extent of the relationships which they established showed an intention to carry out in full the Ashby Commission's recommendation to seek contacts far outside the bounds of the British academic tradition. The University of Nigeria, founded at Nsukka, in 1960, was organised in accordance with the ideas of Nigeria's first Governor-General, Dr Nnamdi Asikiwe, who had emerged as a firm advocate of the principle that an African University should combine vocational with cultural studies. It developed into an institution of an unmistakeably American type, with courses of study closely related to the day-to-day needs of Nigerian society, and benefiting from an association with Michigan State University. The University of Ife (f. 1961) developed intimate faculty links with Cornell and Indiana Universities in the United States, and with Hiedelberg in Germany. The University of Lagos (f. 1962) was perhaps the most individualistic institution of the three, since rather than follow any educational patterns taken from abroad, it preferred to develop the distinctive character of a university committed to a specially close relationship to government ministries and community groups.[71] In this diversity lay an opportunity for Nigerian university administrators to compare and experiment, and so, perhaps, ultimately to achieve that new kind of university institution, specially suited to the needs of their own society, which the Ashby Commission had in mind.

Much of what the Ashby Commission recommended for Nigeria had implications for university institutions in other newly independent African countries. The Universities of Malawi and Zambia were established during 1964 and 1965 respectively, as the first major national enterprises in the two new states which appeared after the dissolution of the Central African Federation in 1963. The University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, founded at Roma in 1964, represented a joint endeavour on the part of the three former British High Commission

[70] All the English-speaking Universities of South Africa originated in university colleges. Cape Town University developed from the South African College (f. 1829), the University of Natal from Natal University College (f. 1909), the University of the Witwatersrand from the University College of Johannesburg (f. 1920) and Rhodes University from Rhodes University College (f. 1904).

[71] See 'African Univ. Problems,' in *O.Q.*, 111. 1 (Mar. 1962), pp.17-18.

territories in southern Africa.[72] Each of these institutions, like the new universities of Nigeria, faced the challenge of developing new programmes of higher education, appropriate to their own needs. Yet, in doing so, they suffered the added disadvantage of having to operate among communities which had virtually no academic traditions of any kind, and which had not possessed facilities for academic secondary education, for longer than two decades or so.

Perhaps, the most realistic assessment of the situation came from a Committee appointed under the chairmanship of Sir John Lockwood to examine the case for a university in Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) in 1963. The order of priorities selected by the Committee might well be taken to speak for themselves: 'First . . . the new university must be responsive to the real needs of the country; second . . . it must be an institution which on merit will win the respect and proper recognition of the university world.'[73] Because the university was to come into being during a time of far-reaching political and social re-construction in Zambia, it should be allowed to make certain departures from the accepted standards and practices of academic life, so as to be in a better position to serve national interests. Indeed, as the Lockwood Committee went on to argue:

> It should conceive its national responsibility to be more extensive and comprehensive than has sometimes been the case elsewhere. It should draw its inspiration from the environment in which its people live and function. It should be a vigorous and fruitful source of stimulus and encouragement to education and training of all kinds and itself operate in fields which hitherto have not formed part of the normal United Kingdom pattern.[74]

The implications were certainly not lost on African leaders themselves. Though Zambia's first President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, was a firm believer in the need to establish a university as one of the essential hallmarks of his country's independent status, this did not prevent him from appreciating the practical advantages to be obtained from an institution of higher education. Speaking on the occasion of his auguration as Chancellor, he declared: 'The creation of the University of Zambia is much more than a matter of sentiment. Many of our hopes for the future of our land and its people are wrapped up in this institution.

[72] Until 1966 they formed the British High Commission territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland.
[73] *Report on the Devel. of a Univ. in North. Rhodesia*, 1963, para.3.
[74] *Ibid.*, para.5.

Without it we cannot hope to become the nation that we want Zambia to be. *The University of Zambia is one of the keys that can open doors of the future and help us to overcome the persisting evils of poverty, ignorance and disease.*'[75] An even more remarkable statement of the social obligations of a new university in a developing country came from the President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, speaking in his capacity as Chancellor of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The traditional concept of a university, he admitted, was that of 'a haven of unrestricted learning and thought, a place where intelligent men and women engage in the pursuit and development of knowledge at a very high level and for its own sake.' According to this concept, the pursuit of knowledge was the *raison d'etre* of a university, making it a place where people can afford, 'even if only for a few years in their lives, to escape from worldly problems and immerse themselves wholly in the depts of abstract thought.' Yet was there not a need for a new interpretation of the traditional role of the university, to bring it into line with the circumstances of his own and other institutions in the newly-independent countries of Africa? Sir Seretse Khama's answer to this question was presented in the form of a clear and highly-significant compromise:

> The pursuit and development of knowledge is and must continue to be the primary purpose of U.B.L.S. We send our students to U.B.L.S. so that they may learn. They go to U.B.L.S. to train their minds not only to evaluate what they learn, but also to develop such knowledge as already exists. And in order to learn and think well, they need to work in a free and tolerant atmosphere. They should not be restricted in their pursuit of knowledge, nor should their freedom of thought be interfered with. For to do either of these things would be to defeat the whole purpose of university education. It would be to deny our students the opportunity to live the fuller life that comes about as a result of the unrestricted intellectual development of the individual. Even more important, to deny our students wide latitude in their pursuit of knowledge and ideas would be to reduce gravely the return on our investment in the University.
>
> We should encourage the development at our University of a very high degree of objectivity, a high degree of intellectual honesty. This is very important indeed, for objectivity is the basis of true scholarship. A true scholar does not shun the truth; he looks it straight in the

[75] *Zambia: Report of Ministry of Educ.*, 1966, p.1.

face, however unpleasant it may be. He does not twist facts for his own convenience. And this is what we expect of our students at U.B.L.S. They must abide by the ethics of true scholarship and resist the temptation to look for easy and convenient ways out of thorny academic problems. For it is only fair that those who seek to enjoy the pleasures of intellectual development should be prepared to observe the tough discipline that such development entails.

Thus U.B.L.S. should conform very closely indeed to the generally accepted concept of a University. It should encourage objectivity, the unrestricted pursuit of knowledge and freedom of thought. But I wish to suggest that in the case of U.B.L.S. the aim should be the pursuit of knowledge, the development of freedom of thought, and the encouragement of intellectual objectivity — all with a difference. At the present stage of development of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, we cannot afford either the pursuit of knowledge or objectivity or, for that matter, freedom of thought, for its own sake. Our students should undertake the pursuit of knowledge with an eye on equipping themselves for service to their community. In other words, freedom of thought at U.B.L.S. must not be looked upon as freedom from concern with the problems of our three countries. And the search for intellectual objectivity must not be allowed to entrap us in mere intellectual abstraction. It must not become a cloak for insensitivity to the needs of the peoples of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. We must always recall the realities of our three countries, and make our plans and draw up our syllabuses accordingly.[76]

The plans made for each of the three post-Ashby Commission universities in central and southern Africa did, in fact, reflect an intention to meet the realities of life in the several countries concerned. Their most distinctive features — low entrance qualifications (candidates were accepted with Ordinary level passes and required to complete their general education during an extra year of undergraduate study), provision for a sharp increase in student numbers,[77] and a variety of arrangements for directing a large proportion of graduates into government service — did not in themselves signify any lowering of academic standards. But they nevertheless implied that academic skills and ex-

[76] *Speech by President of Botswana at Swaziland Agric. Coll.*, 15 May 1970, pp.1-2.

[77] Full-time student numbers during the session 1970-1 were as follows: Ife, 2429; Lagos, 2270; Nigeria, 2934; Malawi, 984; U.B.L.S., 402; Zambia, 1184.

perience would be harnessed to the needs of certain specific tasks of national development. Universities were being called upon to choose, not so much between quality and quantity, as between relevance and irrelevance to the circumstances of the time.

There was therefore a need to re-think some of the principles of international co-operation in higher education which the Asquith Commissioners had laid down, two decades or so before. The achievement of parity of standards with the United Kingdom, and of a reputable standing in the university world, no longer counted as matters of first priority. Instead, the new universities were required to give chief attention to the task of devising curricula and teaching methods directly related to the problems of development in the communities which they served. Though assistance would still be needed from overseas universities, in a variety of ways, it would have to be given through more elastic and informal arrangements than the Asquith concept of 'special relationship' could ever have allowed.

Some idea of the form which these arrangements could be expected to take was provided by Sir Eric Ashby, looking back on the first few years of progress since his Commission had issued their recommendations for Nigeria in 1960. After independence, he decided, the need for international co-operation would be even greater than before. Though new national universities would necessarily diverge in various ways, it was essential to ensure that they remained 'part of an international community of learning.' This could be accomplished in three main ways: first through the international cohesion of research; second through migration of staff; and third through migration of students. The last of these, Ashby thought, might require a considerable measure of organisation, to overcome the physical problems of shortage of space, and to relate undergraduate studies as far as possible to the needs of the local community to which they belonged. Yet research and staff migration should be free from interference where possible: 'Research is like writing poetry — you have to do it on your own and only meet other poets when you want to. You do not want to be co-ordinated by a bureaucrat. It is the same with secondment; the best arrangements are always faculty to faculty, department to department arrangements, much better than university to university arrangements.'[70] The point which Ashby had in mind seemed likely to prove of increasing importance during the years to follow. With the appear-

[70] See (Sir) E. Ashby, 'Co-Operation among Universities,' in *O.Q.*, IV. 2 (June 1964), pp.37-39.

ance of new national universities in many developing states, and the graduation of the Asquith university colleges from their apprenticeship to London University, the responsibilities of formal agencies of inter-university co-operation could be expected to grow less and less. And there would be ever increasing opportunities for beneficial relationships between university teachers themselves.

### Special Relationship with London University; the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies

In making the suggestion that London University should be entrusted with responsibility for certifying the academic standards of university colleges overseas, the Asquith Commissioners were putting their trust in a system of external examinations which had already been in operation since the early part of the nineteenth century. As originally constituted under the terms of a Royal Charter in 1836, London University was empowered to grant degrees to students of certain affiliated colleges, who had passed various qualifying examinations. The University did not provide any teaching facilities on its own behalf until after 1900, when a number of constitutional changes were introduced.[79] Moreover, the powers of awarding degrees by examination were extended during 1858 to include not only students of affiliated colleges, but also any others who could meet the university's matriculation requirements. The result was to precipitate a major controversy in English higher education between those who insisted on residence as an essential part of the experience of academic life, and those who wanted to open up a much wider range of opportunities to people who had been denied the privilege of attendance at university in the normal way. The arguments advanced on either side were significant, as showing a variety of possible approaches to the task of adapting university tradition to the circumstances of a technological age. Yet even more important in the long run was the opportunity to establish contact with students overseas, and to build up an ever more extensive body of experience of education in English-speaking countries.[80]

[79] In 1900 the University was re-constituted so as to strengthen its ties with various institutions of higher education in the London area. The Senate was empowered to admit as 'schools of the university' institutions which provided education of university standard, and met certain other requirements of efficiency.

[80] See J. W. Adamson, *English Educ.*, 1789-1902, Cambridge 1964, pp.192-196.

It was mainly in the light of this unique experience that a committee of the London University Senate agreed during 1945 to accept the task of carrying the Asquith Commission's proposals into effect. 'The University,' it was affirmed, 'would desire to assist any Colonial College associated with it in the steady and continuous development of these characteristic principles, and of their right interpretation in relation to the special needs of the peoples served by the College.' Arrangements were to be made for schemes of 'Special Relation' with overseas university colleges, wherever it appeared that the academic staff held a sufficient measure of control over their affairs to develop regular and liberal courses of study. This meant, from the outset, certain notable departures from previous London University practice. In the first place, the Senate showed itself to be prepared, in an attempt to meet the special needs of students in a number of overseas countries, to consider allowing variations in the syllabuses normally prescribed for both internal and external students. Furthermore, in consideration of the position of students in countries where systems of secondary education were still under-developed, it was agreed that modifications might sometimes be made in the minimum requirements for matriculation, provided that the duration of the first degree course was extended from three to four years. However, nothing in these arrangements was to be allowed to result in a relaxation of the standards required for London University degrees, which were to be applied with just the same rigour demanded of other students.[81]

During the years which followed eight university colleges passed through the status of special relationship with London University: Ibadan (1948-62); the Gold Coast (1948-59); Makerere (1949-63); the West Indies (1949-62); Khartoum (1951-56); Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1955-70); Dar es Salaam (1961-63); Nairobi 1961-63). In seeking to give effect to the principles laid down by Asquith Commissioners, London University staff attempted to establish contacts at a variety of different levels with their colleagues overseas. Sometimes this was achieved by direct and informal contact with the academic boards of the university colleges, sometimes by regular discussions with individual members of staff on questions relating to syllabuses and examinations. One particularly desirable feature of the scheme was the frequent inter-

[81] *Report of Commission on Higher Educ. for Africans in Cent. Africa*, 1953, p.23. A further concession, of considerable benefit in the recruitment of staff, allowed teachers in the university colleges to register for the London Ph.D. Degree as internal students, without any residence qualifications.

change of visits between staff working in close co-operation on the same programmes of instruction, both in London and overseas. Though the final responsibility for assessing candidates lay with the London University staff, local staff were encouraged to take a responsible part in the examination of their own students.[82] The system was clearly open to criticism on the grounds that degree regulations laid down by a Senate meeting many thousands of miles away might prove an impediment to teachers in the free development of their work. Nevertheless, there could be no denying the importance of the benefits which it ensured. Through bestowing the warranty of British academic experience on new university institutions overseas, it allowed them a reputation and influence which must otherwise have taken many decades to achieve.

A second piece of machinery suggested by the Asquith Commissioners, the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, came into being during March 1946, as the result of an agreement between the Colonial Secretary and representatives of university institutions in Britain and overseas. The Council's task, as set out in the terms of its first annual report, was to assist in translating the policy decisions of the Asquith Report into administrative facts, and, in particular, 'to discover ways in which the home universities can best contribute to the development of colonial higher education.' A great deal of its time, during the years which followed, was spent in finding ways and means of achieving the Asquith Commission's standards of university autonomy. Not only the new university colleges, but also the older university institutions in the Colonies, were assisted in the task of devising constitutions which gave them the same degree of control over their own affairs as was enjoyed by the Universities of the United Kingdom. Characteristic of these activities was a mission to the Royal University of Malta, carried out on behalf of the Inter-University Council by Principal Ifor Evans, during 1948, as a result of which the University promulgated a new Statute, freeing it from certain controls previously exercised by government.[83] Other responsibilities undertaken by the Council concerned research and consultative services in certain aspects of university development, and assistance in the

[82] See *Commonwealth Universities Year-Book*, 1970, p.367.

[83] *Report of Inter-Univ. Council*, 1946-7, pp.5-8. These efforts to safeguard the autonomy of colonial university institutions were greatly assisted by the establishment of a Colonial Universities Grants Committee during 1948, empowered to award block grants without the approval of estimates.

improvement of library facilities, a matter of some concern to old and new university institutions alike. A substantial grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, for four years from 1946, made it possible to appoint a full-time library adviser, and to promote a number of experiments in library organisation.[84]

Yet certainly the most vital part of the Inter-University Council's work lay in providing assistance with staffing. It was probably no exaggeration to say, in the words of the first annual report, that 'on the quality of the appointments made during the coming decade will depend the ability of the colleges to win their place in the university world.' In the absence, as yet, of well-qualified local candidates in any significant numbers, it was necessary to ensure a steady supply of expatriate teachers over a period of many years. The early experience of the Council's activities seemed to show that a great deal remained to be done in promoting interest among candidates in the United Kingdom and other more developed countries of the Commonwealth. Opportunities for research, in particular, were often inadequately understood. Indeed, there seemed a danger that, in the short term at least, some institutions would be forced to accept inadequate standards of staffing, either in numbers, or in the qualifications of those employed.[85]

In these circumstances, the strategy adopted by the Inter-University Council was to attempt to secure general agreement on the operation of a number of academic safeguards. University colleges were encouraged to make temporary appointments, and to introduce probation and grading schemes which prevented automatic or non-competitive promotion by seniority. The success of such measures clearly depended on close liaison with other interested bodies. It proved by no means difficult to persuade the United Kingdom Universities Grants Committee to agree to the idea of temporary secondments; indeed, the Committee contributed a valuable suggestion of its own by promising to give sympathetic consideration in the assessment of annual grants to 'staffing arrangements which take into account as one factor of expansion a development of the colonial universities and colleges by temporary loan of staff from the home universities.' In this way, it seemed, opportunities were being presented for individual British Universities to arrange for a sharing of staff with institutions overseas. At the same time the Central Council of the Federated Super-

[84] *Ibid.*, p.10.
[85] *Ibid.*, pp.9-10.
[86] *Ibid.*

annuation Scheme for Universities undertook to admit colonial university institutions, in itself an important step towards the solution of many vexatious problems concerning pension rights, which had proved one of the most serious obstacles to the interchange of staff between United Kingdom and Commonwealth Universities, during the period between the two World Wars.[86]

Though enjoying the status of an independent organisation, controlled and administered by representatives of the United Kingdom Universities, the Inter-University Council was also called upon to act as the main agent of the British Government in pressing forward its plans for the development of higher education overseas. Down to the early 1960s, this responsibility usually took the form of drawing up plans for the most effective distribution of funds made available by H.M. Treasury. Yet the publication of the Ashby Report, and the beginning of a much less formal relationship between universities in Britain and overseas, made it necessary for British ministers to adopt new methods of distributing aid. Henceforward, the Inter-University Council was asked to co-operate in the administration of a wide variety of schemes, all intended to safeguard the interests of individual university teachers who took up appointments in the developing countries of the Commonwealth: the British Expatriates Supplementation of Salary Scheme (B.E.S.S.), originating in a number of *ad hoc* arrangements to meet individual requests, was expanded into a series of general agreements with overseas universities and governments, under the authority of the Overseas Development and Service Act of 1965;[87] an Interview Fund, Re-Settlement Fellowships, and a general assurance of compensation to expatriate staff who were forced to return from overseas for political reasons outside their control, were designed to remove some of the most common anxieties raised by those considering overseas appointments. On the level of individual university departments, there were arrangements for short-term exchanges of staff and students, and for joint-appointments and advisory visits; in addition, under the terms of the Home Base Scheme, British Universities were enabled to make appointments on contract, with a stipulated period of service on secondment overseas. Other, rather more specialised arrangements included a scheme for Visiting Scientists Teaching Abroad (V.I.S.T.A.), which

[87] 13 *and* 14 *Eliz.* 2, *Ch.* 38. This measure, which amended the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1959, authorised the Minister of Overseas Development 'to meet expenses incurred with the employment of persons in overseas territories, or in respect of compensation paid to persons who are or have been so employed.'

had been developed with much success at Ife University, Nigeria, and a project for encouraging young British graduates to Study and Serve Overseas, which had been inaugurated during the third Commonwealth Education Conference in 1964.[88] Finally, as an accompaniment to these measures for assisting with the provision of expatriate staff, there were also schemes for raising the calibre of local university personnel by means of fellowships and a Technician Training Scheme.[89]

The range and complexity of all these activities imposed demands for specialised services which a government department was by no means well-fitted to fulfill. More important, perhaps, there were serious limitations on the extent to which government officials could be expected to do business with universities and individual university people. In attempting to carry out the policies laid down by the political masters whom they served, they might — whether with justification or not — be taken to be interfering with the liberties of academic life. For these reasons apparently, a decision of the Ministry of Overseas Development, during the summer of 1968, invited the Inter-University Council to take responsibility for the administration of virtually all the schemes of assistance to overseas universities previously operated by government officials. The Council's acceptance of these new arrangements meant a need for an immediate and far-reaching programme of administrative re-organisation.[90] But it opened up prospects for closer and more intimate relationships between British and other Commonwealth Universities in the future.

**Later Universities Congresses and a wider Sharing of Responsibility for Co-operation**

With the meeting of the sixth Congress of the Universities of the British Commonwealth at Oxford in 1948, university representatives were able to resume the process of regular consultation which had been interrupted by the Second World War. Circumstances had changed considerably since their last meeting eight years before. One indication, both of recent constitutional developments, and of the steadily growing importance of higher education in many of the Dominions and Colonies, was provided by a decision to change the name of the Universities

[88] Young British graduates were encouraged to study one year, then serve one year, in a Commonwealth country. Three-quarters of the cost per graduate was borne by the Ministry of Overseas Development.
[89] Memo. of Inter-Univ. Council, c. 31/67, 18 Oct. 1967.
[90] Circular of Inter-Univ. Council, 31 Oct. 1968.

Bureau to 'The Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth.' Even more significant, however, were changes in the Articles of Association which gave much greater influence to representatives of universities in the Dominions and Colonies. A rather smaller Executive Council contained a large proportion of representatives of overseas institutions, whilst it became a normal practice for the latter to be represented by their Vice-Chancellors or Principals, rather than just by an agent in London. It was decided, moreover, as a matter of policy, that meetings of the Executive Council would be held from time to time in Commonwealth countries outside the United Kingdom. Further changes were made in the rates of subscription payable by member institutions, which were in future to be based on criteria of size rather than geographical location.[91] The effect of all these developments was to ensure the replacement of the paternalistic control of the affairs of the association, previously exercised by the Universities of the United Kingdom, by a much more equal partnership amongst institutions in different parts of the Commonwealth.[92]

No less significant changes were evident in the manner in which the Oxford Congress set about performing its business. The main topics of discussion — academic appointments, superannuation, the interchange of young graduates and university teachers — were indeed precisely those which had aroused the most enthusiasm at earlier Congresses held during the period between the two World Wars. Yet they were approached now with a much greater sense of urgency than had been evident before. The main reason was apparently made clear by Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, Vice-Chairman of the Inter-University Council, when he alluded to the new responsibilities facing the better-established universities of the Commonwealth in assisting the growth of university colleges in developing countries. 'What is important,' judged Sir Alexander, 'is that these colleges should be, so to speak, incorporated within the university society of the Commonwealth.'[93] Another prominent speaker, Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, directed his attention to the matter which had so far provided the most serious obstacles to co-operation between Commonwealth Universities; ways must speedily be found, he declared, for providing

[91] United Kingdom Universities, who stood to benefit from this change, agreed to maintain their subscriptions at the former level in order to provide a fund for the purchase of new buildings for the Association

[92] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Brit. Commonwealth*, 1948, pp.58-61, and 1954, pp.259-266.

[93] *Ibid.*, 1948, pp.195-201.

a federated superannuation scheme for universities in different parts of the Commonwealth, as a means of ensuring a much freer movement of staff.[94]

In the event, it did not prove possible to find a wholly satisfactory solution to the superannuation problem. A small committee, under the chairmanship of Dr (later Sir Douglas) Logan, Principal of London University, was commissioned by Congress to make further inquiries into the matter. The committee's conclusions, reached with considerable regret, were that some of the difficulties were too complex to be overcome. Universities, it was pointed out, must be seen in relation to other educational institutions in their localities, with which they might find it necessary to develop a common salary and superannuation structure. Moreover, the arrangements of the Federated Superannuation Scheme for Universities in the United Kingdom were seen to have certain disadvantages in a period of rapid inflation; in particular, the system of trying pension benefits to insurance policies could result in considerable loss. For these reasons, it was thought that no more could be accomplished than to request individual universities to ensure that their staff took away the full superannuation rights which accrued to the date of their resignation, including the benefits of contributions paid by the employer.[95]

More substantial progress was achieved in the matter of inter-university visits. The seventh Universities Congress, meeting at Cambridge during 1953, gave careful consideration to a scheme of travel grants to Commonwealth countries, operated by the British Commonwealth Relations Office with the assistance of the British Council since 1949. Close on fifty awards had been distributed every year in three categories, intended respectively for university teachers, distinguished scholars and postgraduate research workers. Yet the scheme contained certain limitations which greatly reduced its usefulness. Colonial Universities were not included in the arrangements. Nor were a variety of promising activities, including short-term teaching visits. More important still, further progress seemed likely to depend on the willingness of other Commonwealth Governments to co-operate in an enterprise which had been so far operated by the United Kingdom authorities alone.[96]

[94] *Ibid.*, p.51.
[95] *Ibid.*, 1953, pp.289-295.
[96] *Ibid.*, pp.275-285.

Significantly, perhaps, moves towards achieving a wider distribution of responsibility for the organisation of schemes of university co-operation came at the eighth Universities Congress, held at Montreal during 1958. The Canadian Government, and the authorities of the Canadian Universities, found themselves called upon to make arrangements for the first educational conference on a Commonwealth level so far held outside the United Kingdom. The experience almost certainly helped to encourage greater interest in Commonwealth educational co-operation on the part of Canadian political leaders, anxious as they were to make full use of the benefits economic expansion which their country enjoyed during the years which followed the Second World War.[97] At any rate it was the Canadian prime minister, John Diefenbaker, who was responsible for two far-reaching decisions on educational policy by the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference, meeting at Montreal some days after the departure of the delegates to the Universities Congress. On Diefenbaker's suggestion, it was agreed to inaugurate a scheme of Commonwealth Scholarships and Fellowships, and to hold a Commonwealth Education Conference early in the following year to consider further arrangements for co-operation.[98]

The Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, as it began to take shape during the months which followed the Montreal Conference, promised to open up important new educational opportunities for virtually every Commonwealth country. Though Britain provided half the 1,000 awards hoped for under the scheme,, Canada accepted responsibility for a further quarter, and a large number of offers were made available by other Commonwealth states.[99] Some concern was felt at the tendency for a one-way traffic to develop in postgraduate students from a number of Commonwealth countries to those which had the best facilities to offer. Of 335 Scholarships taken up during the first year of operation (1960-1), 178 were held in the United Kingdom, 101 in Canada, 38 in Australia, 10 in New Zealand and 8 in other countries.[100] The ten-

[97] The Canadian gross national product rose from $6 743 million in 1940 to $18 006 million in 1950 and $36 287 million in 1960. M. C. Urquhart and K. A. H. Buckley (eds.), *Historical Statistics of Canada*, London, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1965, p.130.

[98] Cmd. 539, *Report of Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference*, 1958, para.17.

[99] By the end of 1961, Scholarships had been offered in sixteen Commonwealth countries, and Fellowships in five. *Report of Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan*, 1960-1, p.6.

[100] *Ibid.*, 1960-1, p.60.

dency for students to concentrate on opportunities in British Universities was increased still further by United Kingdom legislation of 1963 which allowed an extension of Scholarships from two to three years to facilitate study for the Ph. D. Degree. To people in many of the developing countries of the Commonwealth it seemed that the Plan would make remarkably little contribution to their needs in higher education, since they were likely to be pre-occupied for many years to come with the problems of providing wider facilities for study at undergraduate level.[101] Such views were understandable in the light of the desperate need for professional and administrative skills in many of the countries concerned. But they almost certainly failed to appreciate the close relationship which must exist in any university institution between undergraduate and postgraduate studies, and the need to produce high-calibre local staff with academic experience overseas. Effectively used, the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan could be expected to make a sizeable contribution to the task of staffing new universities.

A more serious weakness was the inability of many of the more developed Commonwealth countries, notably the United Kingdom, to provide sufficient nominations for the scholarships offered by newer member countries. Drawing attention to this matter at the ninth Congress of Commonwealth Universities, held at London during 1963, the Earl of Scarbrough, Chairman of the United Kingdom Commonwealth Scholarships Committee, declared that ways must be found to interest British students of high intellectual promise in the opportunities for study and research provided in many Commonwealth countries.[102] Other difficulties prevented any large-scale development of the Fellowships scheme, since not many senior members of staff found it possible to get away for an extended period of time. Indeed, only some half-a-dozen Fellowships were awarded every year.[103] It seemed that though many new opportunities were being provided for contact between individual members of Commonwealth Universities, better publicity and more co-ordinated planning were necessary to ensure that they were used to the greatest possible effect.[104]

[101] *Ibid.*, 1961-2, pp.7-8, 1962-3, pp.8-11, and 1963-4, p.7.
[102] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Commonwealth.* 1963, p.212.
[103] *Report of Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan,* 1962-3, p.10.
[104] The Commonwealth already enjoyed experience of the administration of at least one major scheme of university scholarships on an international level. Under the terms of his last Will, drawn up in 1899, Cecil Rhodes arranged for the endowment of Rhodes Scholarships at Oxford, the recipients to be students from the British Dominions and the United States, though a codicil later stipulated that a small number should come from Germany. See F. Adyelotte, *American Rhodes Scholarships,* Princeton Univ. Press, 1946, pp.11-17.

The Universities Congress at London in 1963 was also memorable for the presentation of a Royal Charter to the association under the new title of the Association of Commonwealth Universities. The granting of the Charter did not mean any fundamental change in aims or organisation. It was significant chiefly as a recognition of the efficiency which had been achieved in the conduct of the association's affairs since the close of the Second World War. That period had seen a progressive expansion of the machinery of inter-university co-operation, and at the same time an increasingly wider sharing of responsibilities which had previously been largely confined to United Kingdom Universities alone. The Council of the Association, acting in accordance with the principles adopted by the Congress of 1948, had met regularly three times in every quinquennium, in a university centre outside the United Kingdom.[105] This arrangement did not always work to the convenience of the university officials concerned, but it had the immeasurable advantage of providing intimate contact with the problems of educational development in a variety of Commonwealth countries. The same advantage also operated in the custom, now adopted, of holding every second Congress in a country other than the United Kingdom. Thus, the eighth Congress having taken place at Montreal during 1958, it was arranged that the tenth Congress should be held at Sydney during 1968. The Sydney Congress, and the functions which accompanied it, enabled delegates to gain a comprehensive view of university development both in Australia and in the South-East Asian territories of the Commonwealth.[106]

The deliberations of the eleventh Congress, held at Edinburgh during 1973, were overshadowed by the first serious outbreak of political controversy within the Association of Commonwealth Universities. Sections of opinion in the United Kingdom Labour Party and the National Union of Students had mounted a campaign for the withdrawal of invitations to delegates from the University of Rhodesia, and from the

[105] During the quinquennium 1963-1968 the Council of the Association of Commonwealth Universities met at the University of Western Ontario (1964), the University of Lagos (1966) and the University of Glasgow (1967). The Glasgow meeting was decided upon because the next Universities Congress, to be held at Sydney in 1968, would take place outside the United Kingdom.

[106] A number of universities, mainly in the developing countries, received assistance towards the travel costs of their delegates from the Commonwealth Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation of New York. *Report of Congress of Universities of the Commonwealth*, 1968, p.XIII.

Universities of South Africa (which had enjoyed associate membership since the departure of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961). The campaign raised questions of far-reaching significance concerning the future development of higher education in the Commonwealth. Were university authorities responsible for the political policies of the governments from which they received financial support? If they were, then what further value could be placed in the traditional freedoms of academic life? Moreover, in countries where political systems worked against the fulfilment of the multi-racial ideals which Commonwealth peoples shared in common, would the processes of change be hastened or retarded through the support of university institutions? In the particular case of the University of Rhodesia, had the design of a multi-racial institution, put forward by the Carr-Saunders Commission in 1963, and subsequently confirmed by Royal Charter, irretrievably broken down?

Answers to these questions were made more difficult to achieve by a decision of universities in several African countries not to take part in the Congress if delegates from the southern African institutions were allowed to attend. An immediate crisis in the affairs of the Association was averted by the withdrawal of the southern African delegates.[107] Yet there seemed some grounds for fearing that the intrusion of political influences into inter-university co-operation had set an undesirable precedent for the future.

**Towards a Richer Academic Tradition**

In the course of his opening address as Chairman of the Sydney Congress, the Vice-Chancellor of Monash University, Dr. J. A. L. Matheson, spoke of the bonds of a common academic tradition shared by all the Universities of the Commonwealth:

> Perhaps if the Commonwealth itself should become fragmented our Association would prove to be unworkable. But even in that fatal circumstance the component universities, . . . would remain united by permanent bonds of history and tradition that were formed at a time when scholars all over the Commonwealth looked to Britain for inspiration and help.
>
> The world has moved on from the times when it was accepted that whole peoples could be held subject by a remote colonial power.

[107] See *Times Higher Educational Supplement* No. 90 (6 July 1973) and 93 (27 July 1973).

The winds of change, blowing perhaps more fiercely upon the British Empire than upon some other colonial systems, have swept away the dependencies that were governed through the Colonial Office and independent states have taken their place. But let us not forget that we are here to-night to no small extent because of the men and ideas that flowed first from the ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and Paris, and later from London and Manchester and Birmingham and the others — flowed from Britain to what were first her colonies and are now her partners.[108]

Though the Universities of the Commonwealth undoubtedly shared — and had consistently encouraged each other to share — much of the diversity which was characteristic of the Commonwealth organisation as a whole, they nevertheless presented the picture of a homogenous academic society, bound together by a wide variety of relationships of a specially intimate kind. Common use of the English language, the habit of frequent intercourse with universities in the United Kingdom and, above all, participation in the British tradition of academc freedom had given them a greater sense of corporate identity than was apparent in the case of educational institutions at any other level.

The suitation did not always meet with unqualified approval. There were occasional misgivings amongst university teachers in the newer Commonwealth countries concerning the extent to which university life might be domininated by outside influences. As one contributor to a symposium on 'Academic Colonialism,' held at Delhi during 1968, declared: 'We form a sub-culture in the Anglo-American (academic) dominion . . . A considerable proportion of academic activity is geared to satisfying the foreigner (but) how can his interests coincide with our actual needs? . . . Continuing with the present practice can only be at the risk of distorting the development of normal processes . . . Academic autarky is the most appropriate slogan for the present generation of academics.'[108] Another Indian observer, writing at the time time, went even further in his defence of separatism: 'There is no "world community of science." Scientific internationalism is a bridge of illusion, a cloak of comfort across the chasm!'[109]

Such fears were not entirely without foundation, when seen in historical terms. The university, and the traditions of academic life were indigenous only to European society. They had been carried to new coun-

[108] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Commonwealth*. 1968, p.2.
[109] W. H. Morris-Jones and T. J. Johnson, 'A Commonwealth of Learning', in *Round Table*, No. 270 (Nov. 1970), pp.385-396.

tries overseas, not by successive transmigrations of scholars, but in answer to the needs of government or missionary policy. Not infrequently, the founders of university institutions were influenced by considerations of national pride. 'If the time shall come,' said Raffles of his new college at Singapore, 'when (our) Empire shall have passed away, these monuments of her virtue will endure when her triumphs have become an empty name.'[110] Moreover, though the Universities of the Commonwealth had rarely allowed political barriers to stand in the way of close and constant intercourse with sister-institutions in other parts of the English-speaking world,[111] they had not shown the same readiness to establish relationships with other European academic traditions. Important benefits might have flowed from a closer relationship with European Universities than Dr Hill and his colleagues of the Universities Bureau were prepared to support during the 1920s. Not least of these would have been the presence of a yardstick against which to measure the achievement of British university tradition both at home and overseas.

Nevertheless, the series of university foundations in Colonial and former Colonial territories, during the period which followed the Second World War, promised to bring a new and enriching experience to the Commonwealth university community as a whole. From the Asquith Report on it was clear that universities in developing countries would have to achieve a balance between supplying the needs of the communities to which they belonged, and establishing an international reputation in their own right. And with the publication of the Ashby Report for Nigeria, nearly two decades later, it could be seen that the means to achieving this balance would not necessarily lie within British academic experience alone. Through a variety of experiments, in Africa and Asia and the Caribbean, a wealth of stimulating experience might pass back to the older universities, to give them a deeper understanding of their possible role in the modern world.

[110] *Ibid.*

[111] R. Coupland, p.120.

[112] Representatives of United States Universities were invited to each Congress, beginning in 1912, and played a leading role in the proceedings of the eighth Congress at Montreal in 1958. European representatives did not attend until the sixth Congress in 1948. With the secession from the Commonwealth of the Irish Republic in 1947 and of South Africa in 1961, arrangements were made for universities in these countries to continue to play a part in the affairs of the Association as associate members. The invitations to South African Universities to attend the eleventh Congress at Edinburgh in 1973 were withdrawn after controversy concerning the political implications of giving representation to southern African institutions.

## Chapter Six

# RESEARCH

### A Closer Relationship between Research and Educational Development; the Beginning of Commonwealth Studies in United Kingdom Universities

The policies of educational development which were produced by British colonial administrators from the 1920s onward depended for their success on the support of research facilities of many different kinds. It was essential, as Guggisberg attempted to demonstrate at Achimota, to study native customs and traditions at first hand, and to experiment with teaching methods and curricula suited to the needs of each individual locality. And it was necessary to produce a new type of colonial civil servant, thoroughly acquainted with the life and problems of the communities among which he worked. At the same time there was a growing demand for university institutions in the United Kingdom and the older Commonwealth countries to devise special courses of study for students from colonial territories.

Moreover, strictly educational considerations apart, the Commonwealth was promising to become an important research study in its own right. With the successful assertion of rights of self-determination for the Dominions through the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and the Statitute of Westminster of 1931, there was a case for systematic enquiry into the nature of the Commonwealth relationship and the ultimate destiny of the Commonwealth community as a whole. Such enquiry could hardly fail to take careful account of the implications of the policies which British administrators were putting into practice in the territories of the Colonial Empire.

Successive British Governments were remarkably slow to respond to the requirements of the situation. During 1921 a committee was appointed by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner, to consider ways in which United Kingdom Universities could be asked to help in promoting certain categories of scientific research necessary to the well-being of the Colonies.[1] The committee was impressed, not only by the importance of the topic under review, but by the readiness of individual universities

[1] Cmd. 1472, *Report of Committee on Research in the Colonies*, 1921, para.1.

to co-operate whenever possible.[2] It was considered that United Kingdom Universities could perform a valuable function in the training of scientists for the Colonial service, and in the provision of a body of experts whose skills would be available as required for the solution of particularly complex problems.[3] Yet no concrete suggestions were forthcoming as to how these admirable aims could be carried into effect. For many years afterwards research in the Colonies — whether in the sciences or in other areas of study — remained singularly lacking in direction and official support. Speakers at the third Universities Congress in 1926 drew unfavourable contrasts between British imperial practice and that of Dutch and German overseas possessions, where much better provision had been made to educate colonial officials in the customs and languages of the local inhabitants.[4]

Such facilities as already existed in British Universities for the study of matters relating to the Dominions and Colonies were almost entirely confined to Oxford, Cambridge and London, where they were the result of special associations with overseas territories in various ways. A report, signed by a special committee of the London University Senate on 23 December 1908, and subsequently submitted to the British Government, urged the necesity of giving suitable preparation to those about to take up administrative positions in Africa and Asia. As a means of bringing this about, it was suggested that courses in Oriental subjects already provided in University and King's Colleges should be made the nucleus of a new School of Oriental Studies, with suitable premises and a substantial library of its own.[5]

The report was sympathetically received by government. A Departmental Committee under the chairmanship of the Earl of Cromer was appointed by the Secretary of State for India to produce a scheme for a London School of Oriental Languages. After prolonged negotiations, the Committee decided to recommend that the School should be established forthwith, and should be lodged in premises which had become available at Finsbury Circus. In 1913 a Royal Commission on university education in London recommended that it should be given the status

[2] *Ibid.*, para.3.
[3] *Ibid.*, para.5.
[4] *Report of Congress of Universities of the Empire*, 1926, pp.131 and 134. The Sendeling School at Leyden, in Holland, had already developed comprehensive studies relating to the Dutch possessions in the Far East, including anthropology, agriculture, psychology, and the natural sciences.
[5] *London Univ. Sch. of Oriental and Afr. Studies: Calendar*, 1971-2, pp.52-5.

of a school of the University. This view was endorsed by the British Government and embodied in a Royal Charter issued on 5 June 1916. The new London University School of Oriental Studies was formally opened by King George V early in 1917.[6]

The School rapidly justified the efforts made to establish it. During the first ten years of its existence more than 3,000 students made use of its courses. A significant expansion in activity took place during 1931 with the aid of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation when it was decided to asume responsibility for African studies as well. During this year permission was granted to amend the Royal Charter so that the new title of School of Oriental and African Studies could be used. With the outbreak of the Second World War the School was called upon to perform a wide variety of services for the British Government, notably in giving instruction in Far Eastern languages to troops engaged in the struggle against Japan. These services, however unsettling to the normal life of an academic institution, had a long-term beneficial effect in making government more aware of the need for an expansion in overseas studies after the war. Indeed, they almost certainly played an important part in the decision to appoint the Scarbrough Commission in 1946, with responsibility for investigating the teaching of Oriental, Slavonic, Eastern European and African languages in the United Kingdom.

Had Sir Percy Nunn's scheme for a 'great school of colonial education' borne fruit during the 1930s, it is conceivable that London University would have been equipped with a comprehensive range of facilities for research into educational problems in the Commonwealth. As it was, the much less ambitious arrangement of a Colonial Department in the Institute of Education, which was put into practice during 1944, provided opportunities for specialist studies of education in the developing countries. In her Inaugural Lecture as first Professor in the Department on 19 June 1950, Miss Margaret Read spoke of the clash so often experienced between Western and indigenous cultures, and the need for sociological and psychological studies into the resulting impact on local community life.[7] One of her successors, Professor L. J. Lewis, on a similar occasion nearly a decade later, alluded to the problem in even more uncompromising terms. Not only must there be more of such research, he declared, but it must be integrated into courses of training for teachers overseas, still largely dependent as they were on

[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *T.E.S.*, No. 1834 (23 June 1950), p.500.

British or American expositions of theory, and 'frequently without even the misleading but superficially satisfying coating of local illustration.'[8] Though there were clearly limits to the extent to which members of London University staff could take part directly in research projects overseas, they could nevertheless fulfil an invaluable function as co-ordinators and as distributors of information.[9]

Meanwhile, in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, considerable encouragement was given to overseas studies by an arrangement whereby, after 1924, special courses of training were provided for entrants to the Colonial Admiistrative Service. During the years before the Second World War there was a steady increase in the number of chairs and other teaching posts in Colonial history, administration and economics. Moreover, the building of Rhodes House during 1926, as a permanent headquarters for the Rhodes Trust, provided a library where specialist collections of Commonwealth manuscripts could be stored.[10] The effectiveness of all these facilities was nevertheless greatly reduced by the absence of any instruction in African and Asian Languages, and of any organisation responsible for the co-ordination of teaching and research.

One attempt to remove these defects was made during 1929, when General Jan Smuts in delivering the Rhodes Memorial Lectures for that year, suggested the establishment of an Oxford University centre for African studies. Since his first period of office as prime minister of South Africa from 1919 to 1924, Smuts had grown increasingly aware of the importance of accelerating the development of African peoples. Though never entirely free from the traditional Afrikaaner belief in the intellectual and adminstrative superiority of the white man, he was nevertheless impressed by the efforts of British rulers to develop the traditions and institutions of African peoples committed to their care. Moreover, in South Africa, he had observed the effect of Cecil Rhodes's Glen Grey legislation of 1894, which enabled African communities to

[8] L. J. Lewis, *Educ. and Political Independence in Africa*, London 1962, p.77.

[9] During 1930 the publishing house of Evans Brothers began to sponsor a *Year Book of Education*, produced by members of the staff of the London University Institute of Education, and mainly concerned with education in the British Commonwealth and Empire. This publication should not be confused with the *Year Book* published at Teachers' College, Colombia University, from 1922 to 1944, which was largely confined to the American countries, or with the *World Year Book of Education* which replaced both series from 1965.

[10] See *Cecil Rhodes and Rhodes House*, Oxford 1972.

carry out schemes of social and economic development through the medium of their own elected councils. These activities were evidently much in Smuts's mind as he delivered the Rhodes Lectures of 1929. His theme was race relations, 'a very large human question, fraught with immense possibilities for the future of our civilisation as well as that of Africa.' What was needed in Africa, he considered, was a wise and far-sighted native policy: 'If we could evolve and pursue a policy which will promote the cause of civilisation in Africa without injustice to the African, we shall render a great service to the cause of humanity.' Yet it would be unrealistic to expect that any native policy could work effectively which did not give due regard to the traditional forms of African society: 'If the bonds of native tribal cohesion and authority are dissolved, the African governments will everywhere sit with vast hordes of detribalised natives on their hands, for whom the traditional restraints and discipline of the chiefs and elders will have no force or effect . . . The results may well be general chaos.'[11] As the best means of avoiding such an outcome, he believed there should be a survey of the main features of African life, to be carried out by a body capable of speaking freely and fearlessly on controversial issues.[12]

Smuts's proposal received enthusiastic support at Oxford. Largely on the initiative of H. A. L. Fisher, Warden of New College,[13] a series of meetings were arranged to discuss the further implications of the scheme. At these meetings, Smuts proceeded to elaborate his ideas in greater detail, adopting a characteristically pragmatic line of approach. The problems of Africa, he declared, called for constructive thinking and modernised methods. He was strongly of the opinion that Rhodes House should be made the venue for African studies, partly because this would accord with Rhodes's own ideas, and partly on the sound academic principle that there should be a close relationship between teaching and research; 'no question,' he said, 'was ever properly dealt with without a school.'[14] However, since finance must necessarily be a matter of critical importance, he suggested that approaches should also be made to the great international business corporations, who might be persuaded to

[11] J. C. Smuts, *Jan Christian Smuts*, Cape Town 1952, pp.307-310.
[12] Bodleian Library, Fisher MSS., Box 29, Memorial to Rockefeller Foundation on proposed Oxford Institute of African Studies, p.1.
[13] Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher (1865-1940), the historian, had previously served as Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University (1912-16), President of the Board of Education (1916-22), and President of the British Academy (1928-32).
[14] Bodleian Library, Fisher MSS., Box 29, Minutes of first meeting of conference on Africa, 9 Nov. 1929, p.2.

see that the new venture would be able to provide them with the kind of expert guidance which they often needed.[15]

During the weeks which followed, a committee under Fisher's chairmanship pushed forward the project, and won the approval of both the Hebdomadal Council and the Rhodes Trustees. It proved impossible, however, to achieve an adequate basis of financial support. The Rockefeller Trustees, to whom Smuts appealed for a grant sufficient to defray expenses for the first ten years of the centre's work, declined to help, because of many other claims on their resources.[16] Appeals for a grant from the Colonial Development Fund also failed, in the face of statutory limitations on the purposes to which the Fund could be applied.[17] The failure was significant, as showing that no financial support had yet been specifically set aside for research projects in the Commonwealth, no matter what important issues might be involved.

**The Scarbrough Report**

A chain of circumstances, during the middle and later 1940s' forced British statesmen to take a much closer look at the case for Commonwealth studies. With the first moves towards self-government for the colonial territories, the appointment of the Asquith and Elliott Commissions to investigate the prospects of colonial higher education, and the likelihood of a closer relationship between United Kingdom Universities and university institutions overseas, there was an obvious need to provide facilities for a balanced and objective study of Commonwealth problems. Moreover, these considerations apart, the growth of nationalist movements in a large number of African and Asian countries raised implications for British policy which must clearly be given careful examination during the years to come. As early as December 1946 a Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of the Earl of Scarbrough 'to examine the facilities offered by universities and other educational instiutions in Great Britain for the study of Oriental, Slavonic, East Europeans and African languages and culture' and to recommend whatever improvements might reasonably be made.[18] Though the terms of reference comprised much more than specifically Common-

[15] *Ibid.*, Minutes of second meeting, 10 Nov. 1929, p.10.
[16] *Ibid.*, H. A. L. Fisher to President of Rockefeller Foundation, 20 May 1931.
[17] *Ibid.*, same to Sir B. Blackett, 13 Dec. 1929.
[18] *Report of Commission on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies*, 1947, para.1.

wealth interests, the implications for the Commonwealth, and for the colonial territories in particular, were of very considerable importance. As the Scarbrough Commissioners themselves saw the situation, the maintenance of peace and political stability in the post-war world was likely to depend in great measure on the development of knowledge and understanding between different peoples. And it was necessary, in consequence, to examine the problems of Commonwealth territories, not only for themselves, but against the background of a common world need to 'struggle out of an abyss of political and economic disorder.'[19]

The Commissioners reported that existing facilities for overseas studies were far from satisfactory. Indeed, they were 'unworthy of our country and people,' and, unless improved, would be 'harmful to the national interest.'[20] A long catalogue of weaknesses added up to an extremely depressing situation: there was an absence of systematic organisation, except in the University of London, and even there overseas studies had tended to remain outside the mainstream of academic life; few contacts were maintained abroad, except in Africa, so that opportunities for on-the-spot research rarely presented themselves; research output was, in any case, negligible because of the shortage of staff and financial support; library facilities were poor, with a few notable exceptions; small numbers of students meant that it was sometimes difficult to find candidates capable of filling academic posts.[21] Such a remarkable record of failure was not due, in their view, to any lack of aptitude on the part of British scholars in mastering difficult foreign languages, or to any lack of inclination to explore the resources of overseas culture. Rather was it the result of 'a traditional exclusiveness which tends to disregard and even to look down upon culture which has little in common withour own.' The persistence of this attitude had ensured that overseas studies received too little support from government and academic authorities alike, and had not been found a place within the normal range of university activity.[22]

Whatever the degree of justification for this conclusion might happen to be, there could be little doubting the wisdom of the measures which the Commissioners put forward for consideration. They accepted that the establishment of an academic tradition in overseas studies, comparable in quality and continuity with that of any of the main departments

[19] *Ibid.*, para.2.
[20] *Ibid.*, para.9.
[21] *Ibid.*, para.22.
[22] *Ibid.*, paras.24 and 25.

of university activity, must prove an unusually difficult enterprise. As the most hopeful means of accomplishing this object, they recommended the setting up of strong and coherent university departments, largely but not exclusively based on the existing institutions in London, Oxford and Cambridge. Such departments should be given a much more generous measure of financial support from the Treasury than the numbers of their students would probably justify. However, they could be expected to fulfil a valuable public function in preparing candidates for a variety of appointments in countries overseas.[23]

The recommendations of the Scarbrough Commissioners proved acceptable to government, and marked the beginning of a new period of expansion in overseas studies. Perhaps not surprisingly, the first important advances were made in the case of the London University School of Oriental and African Studies, an institution which so far approached nearer than any other to the Commissioners's ideal of a strong, coherent university department. As the result of substantially increased financial support, from 1947 on, the School was enabled to establish two new Departments of Law and of Anthropology.[24] However, an even more significant development, authorised by the London University Senate during 1948, was the establishment of an Institute of Commonwealth Studies, the first institution of its kind in any British University. The new Institute was not intended to duplicate existing facilities of any kind. It had, as the first Director, Professor W. K. Hancock, explained, a twofold purpose of its own: to guide research workers towards whatever materials and expert advice were available in their fields; and to provide a centre for discussion and collaboration between experienced scholars and postgraduate research workers.[25] Such terms of reference clearly opened up exciting possibilities for the future. It might prove feasible, on the one hand, to develop an inter-disciplinary approach to Commonwealth research projects, and on the other, to make increasingly concerted use of the wide variety of Commonwealth resources available in the London area. In this way Commonwealth studies could be expected to acquire, in time, something of the distinctive academic traditions which the Scarbrough Commission had in mind.

From the outset, the Institute was helped by a considerable measure of international goodwill, both from within and outside the Commonwealth. One indication of this was provided by the large number of

[23] *Ibid.*, paras.32-40.
[24] *London Univ. Sch. of Oriental and Afr. Studies: Calendar*, 1971-2, pp.52-55.
[25] *London Univ. Inst. of Commonwealth Studies: Report*, 1949-50, p.9.

gifts made by Commonwealth Universities and Colleges towards the furnishing of the Institute's premises on Russell Square. Some of these gifts consisted of financial contributions. Others came in the form of local craftsmanship, symbolising in an unusually tangible way the links between academic institutions in different Commonwealth countries. From New Zealand there were five chairs in Southland beech, one the gift of the national university, and one from each of its constituent colleges; from Ibadan a set of library steps and a lectern in West African mahogany; from Hong Kong a framed inscription recording the list of benefactors.[26] Substantial grants from the Rockefeller Foundation made it possible to establish a library.[27]

In attempting to develop an inter-disciplinary approach to Commonwealth studies, the Institute Staff decided to put their trust in a variety of informal teaching methods, which sometimes took on a highly novel form. One of the most successful of these was the organisation of dinner-discussions,, bringing together teachers and research workers whose interests lay, either wholly or partly, within the Commonwealth field. International meetings were held to establish contact with Commonwealth scholars overseas. An important break-through in international co-operation was achieved during 1964 with the holding of a joint-conference with the Commonwealth Studies Center of Duke University, North Carolina, on the theme 'A decade of the Commonwealth, 1955-1964.'[28] It was clearly desirable that the only American university institution specialising in Commonwealth research should be brought into intimate relationship with similar activities within the Commonwealth organisation itself. At the same time the appointment of the first Carnegie Fellows in 1951 (replaced by post-doctoral fellows in 1959) enabled the Institute to invite a small number of distinguished overseas scholars to pursue research in London.[29]

The extent and variety of these activities represented a determined attempt to achieve the standard of research facilities envisaged by the Scarbrough Commissioners. Nevertheless, the authorities of the Commonwealth Studies Institute were not interested in providing research facilities alone. In common with Smuts in his plans for an African Insti-

[26] *Ibid.*, 1950-1, p.5.
[27] *Ibid.*, 1949-50, p.7.
[28] Duke University Commonwealth Studies Center was established in 1955, with support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, to promote individual research and to provide a meeting-place for scholars and researchers in Commonwealth fields.
[29] *Ibid.*, 1958-9, pp.4-6 and 1963-4, p.4.

tute at Oxford several decades before, they accepted the need for a permanent relationship between research and teaching, as an essential feature of any programme of university study. If Commonwealth studies were to receive the respect normally given to one of the main academic disciplines, then it was necessary that Commonwealth specialists should enjoy the opportunity to set out their ideas in the formal atmosphere of a university lecture-room. In any case, there was an urgent demand for specialist instruction in many aspects of Commonwealth affairs. Apparently with these considerations in mind, the Institute began a significant expansion of its activities during 1967 with the acceptance of the first students for the M.A. programme in Area Studies.[30] With further experience, it could be expected that other teaching programmes would be provided during the years to follow.

A close relationship between research and teaching had already been developed at Oxford, where an Institute of Colonial Studies, founded in 1947, and re-organised in 1956 as the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, provided courses of training for overseas administrators down to 1969. In contrast to the London Institute's aim of providing facilities for a wide variety of Commonwealth studies, the policy at Oxford was to concentrate resources on a relatively small number of specialised projects in the fields of historical and documentary research. Certainly the most important research undertaking during these early years was the Colonial Records Project, launched in 1962 with financial support from a number of outside bodies, including the Leverhulme Trust and the African Studies Association of America. The object of the scheme was to make a collection of documents held in private possession which might contribute to future studies of British colonial history.[31] Formidable difficulties were presented by shortage of money and the necessity of carrying out the research for documents, not only in Britain but in many other parts of the world. Nevertheless, close co-operation with the authorities of Rhodes House, and the presence within the Institute

[30] *Ibid.*, 1967-8, p.5.

[31] Financial assistance was subsequently provided by the British Academy, the Nuffield Foundation and the Ford Foundation.

[32] Dame Margery Perham (b. 1895), after service as Fellow and Tutor in Modern History and Modern Greats in St. Hugh's College, carried out investigations of administrative history in Somaliland (1922-3) and, as a Rhodes Travelling Fellow, in North America, Polynesia, Australia and East Africa (1929-31) and West Africa (1931-2). Later, she became the first Reader in Colonial Administration in Oxford University (1939-48) and the first Director of the Institute of Colonial Studies (1945-8). Her best known work is probably a life of Lord Lugard, published in 1963.

of several outstanding Commonwealth scholars, notably Dame Margery Perham,[32] made possible a substantial measure of progress during the years which followed.[33]

The activities of the Institute were assisted through close co-operation with Queen Elizabeth House, an institution established at Oxford by Royal Charter in 1954, to further the study of problems in developing countries, particularly those for which the British Government was still responsible. Since Queen Elizabeth House provided the advantages of a residential centre and advisory services for visiting students from overseas, its functions clearly complemented those of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies. A decision taken jointly during 1967 by the University Committee for Commonwealth Studies and the Trustees of Queen Elizabeth House, made clear a determination to exploit this situation to the full. Henceforward, there was to be a unified control of both institutions through an arrangement that the posts of Director of the Institute and Warden of Queen Elizabeth House should be held by the same person.[34] The change seemed to promise greater possibilities of involving overseas experts in active participation in programmes of Commonwealth research at Oxford.

A rather more formal approach to Commonwealth studies had been in operation at Cambridge since 1952, when an agreement between the Managers of the Smuts Trust and the university authorities opened the way for the establishment of a memorial chair, readership and annual lectures in Commonwealth fields. The immediate effect was to provide at Cambridge a number of prestigious academic appointments, capable of achieving widespread recognition for specialists in Commonwealth studies. Moreover, the range of disciplines represented by the Smuts Readers — P. T. Bauer (Economics), Audrey Richards (Anthropology), R. E. Robinson (History) and J. R. Goody (Anthropology)-made clear that Commonwealth studies was to be interpreted in the broadest possible sense. At the same time the identity of a number of those chosen to deliver the Smuts Lectures — they included Sir Robert Menzies, Harry Oppenheimer, Lester Pearson and Lee Kuan Yew — was an indication that opportunities were being provided for leading figures in the life of the Commonwealth to share their experience with an academic audience.[35] All these activities could be expected, in time, to provide

[33] *Oxford Univ. Committee for Commonwealth Studies: Report*, 1962-3, pp.213, 1956-6, pp.15-16 and 1968-9, p.18.
[34] *Ibid.*, 1967-8, p.1.
[35] I am indebted to Professor Nicholas Mansergh for a discussion on the activities of the Smuts Trustees at Cambridge.

considerable encouragement for specialisation in Commonwealth topics, at universities in Britain and overseas.[36]

**Delays in Developing a Co-ordinated Research Policy for the Colonial Empire; Impact of the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts; Work of the Colonial Research Committee**

A number of specialist research institutions were established in various parts of the British Colonial Empire during the years between the two World Wars. The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture at Trinidad, founded in 1921 as the result of a recommendation by Lord Milner's Committee, linked research with the task of educating agricultural officers for service throughout the colonial territories. There was also the East African Agricultural Research Institute at Amani, Tanganyika, originally established by the German Government in 1902, and re-constituted along lines recommended by the East African Commission in 1924; the Institute of Medical Research at Kuala Lumpur, Malaya; the Yellow Fever Research Institute at Entebbe, Uganda; the Rhodes-Livingstone Memorial Institute for anthropological studies in Northern Rhodesia. The value of these establishments was, however, severely restricted by the tardiness of British administrators in developing a co-ordinated research policy for the Colonial Empire as a whole. As yet, the potential role of research as an aid to the development of political and social institutions was only dimly realised. Such material assistance as the Imperial Parliament provided from time to time for research in the colonies was invariably earmarked for specific schemes of economic development. Temporary grants of £10,000 made in 1919-20 and 1920-21, for instance, were intended to raise productivity by increasing the available supply of raw materials.[37] Much larger sums were made available under the terms of the first Colonial Deve-

[36] Other important opportunities for specialist work were provided by the foundation of the Beit Chair of Imperial History in Oxford University during 1904, and the Rhodes Chair of Imperial History in London University during 1919. By the early 1970s African studies formed a regular part of the curriculum in the Universities of Birmingham, Cambridge, Edinburgh, London, Oxford and York in Britain, McGill and Montreal in Canada, and Delhi in India. Oriental studies were in progress in the Universities of Aberdeen, Cambridge, Dundee, Durham, Edinburgh, Hull, Liverpool, London, Oxford, Wales and York in Britain, British Columbia, Guelph, Saskatchewan, Toronto, Waterloo, Windsor and the Lutheran University in Canada, Melbourne and Sydney in Australia, and in the Royal University of Malta.

[37] Cmd. 1144, *Report of Col. Research Committee*, 1920, p.2.

lopment and Welfare Act of 1929, which authorised the expenditure of up to £1 million a year on development projects, including research. Yet, once again, the terms of the Act made clear that research was to be confined to activities for the promotion of industry or agriculture.[38]

As it happened, another source of support for colonial research, provided by the Empire Marketing Board from its establishment in 1926 to its dissolution in 1933, was also confined to specifically economic objectives. A widening of the Board's responsibilities during 1931, from the marketing of Empire products in the United Kingdom to the investigation of markets and products in the British Empire as a whole, made no appreciable difference to the extent of its assistance to research. Within such narrow limits, however, the Board's officials showed much enterprise and initiative in directing attention to certain aspects of colonial life.[39]

The first moves towards a more co-ordinated research policy came shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, as the result of views expressed by Lord Hailey in the concluding chapters of his *African Survey*. In the past, Hailey decided, research activities had been 'frequently undertaken in response to an unrelated series of demands rather than as the outcome of comprehensive planning.' It was necessary to ensure both a closer involvement in African problems by research institutions in the United Kingdom, and a more generous measure of support from the Treasury. However, additional financial support was merely one aspect of the problem; it was no less necessary to ensure that money was made available without too many restrictions of any kind. For this reason, he recommended the setting up of a Committee of either the Privy Council or the Economic Advisory Council, with power to give assistance to a wide range of research activities in both the social and physical sciences. 'We see before us,' Hailey concluded, 'the most formative period of African history . . . The task of guiding the social and material development of Africa gives rise to problems which cannot be solved by the application of routine knowledge; they require a special knowledge, which can only be gained by an intensive study of the unusual conditions.'[40]

The force of Hailey's argument was not slow in making an impact on the framers of British imperial policy. A statement of government

[38] 20 *Geo.* 5, *Ch.* 5, sec. 1 (1).
[39] Cmd. 6486, *Col. Research Committee: Progress Report*, 1942-3. para. 2. A Colonial Empire Marketing Board was established in 1937 but its activities were suspended on the outbreak of the Second World War.
[40] Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, London 1938, pp. 1624, 1628 and 1662.

policy during 1940, on the details of the forthcoming second Colonial Development and Welfare Bill, intimated that special arrangements would now be made for financing research, with the object of establishing it on a wide and regular basis. An annual grant of up to £500,000 was to be set aside for the purpose.[41] Moreover, a Colonial Research Advisory Committee was to be established, in order to provide the Colonial Secretary with the advice and guidance of a permanent body of scientific experts.[42] In the event, the appointment of the Committee was delayed until the summer of 1942, because a series of reverses to the Allied side in the war made it necessary for British ministers to move more slowly with the development of their new colonial policies. Nevertheless, during the five years which followed, the Committee enjoyed the benefit of the chairmanship of Lord Hailey, who had been the chief adviser of successive Colonial Secretaries on matters of development and welfare.[43]

With the establishment of the Colonial Research Committee, British imperial administration entered upon a new and increasingly challenging phase. There were, as the Colonial Secretary, Lord Cranborne, reminded Committee members in his address to the opening meeting, at least two important innovations in the responsibilities being laid upon them. In the first place, the terms of the Act of 1940 referred to 'research and *inquiry*', and should, in the Colonial Secretary's view, be given the widest possible interpretation. There was no longer any intention of confining assistance to matters of agricultural and industrial importance. The scope of inquiry should embrace many different aspects of social studies, such as economics, sociology, linguistics and colonial law and administration, all of which could be expected to exert a considerable influence over the future course of colonial development.[44] In the second place, he was anxious to point out that the work of the Committee in the *co-ordination* of research would be no less important than its activities in recommending grants for expenditure. On the one hand, it would be in a position to make a comprehensive survey of research facilities in the colonial territories and,

[41] No time limit was imposed on the operation of the research grant, in contrast to the limit of ten years laid down for sums granted to development and welfare.
[42] Cmd. 6175, *Statement of Policy on Col. Development and Welfare*, 1940, para.8.
[43] Rhodes House, MS. Brit. Emp. s. 342, Malcolm MacDonald to Lord Hailey, 28 Mar. 1940 and Lord Cranborne to same, 13 Apr. 1942.
[44] Cmd. 6486, *Col. Research Committee: Progress Report*, 1942-3, para. 5.

whenever necessary elsewhere. On the other hand, it might serve as a liaison organisation between research organisations and territories which seemed most likely to meet their needs.[45] Approached in this way, it seemed that important benefits might accrue from a much more thorough exploitation of research facilities in Europe, North America and the Dominions, than had been so far attempted.

Unavoidably, the task of achieving these ambitious objectives had to be undertaken during a time of war. For several years, the Colonial Research Committee could do little more than attempt to maintain at their existing level such research activities as were already in progress in the Colonies. There was no immediate prospect of being able to put any new projects into operation. Yet this situation was not altogether without its advantages, since an opportunity was presented for careful planning of the strategy to be adopted after the war. Making full use of this opportunity, the Committee worked out a number of general principles, as a guide to future operations. The aim, as members saw it must be threefold: 'to study the whole field of scientific inquiry; to distinguish the parts of its requiring attention and to ensure that gaps in it are filled whenever it is possible to do so.'[46] They believed there would be considerable advantages in the establishment of specialist research committtees or councils in London, capable of offering expert advice in particular fields, not only to the Secretary of State, but also to organisations and individuals in the Colonies; the effect, they hoped, might be to break down the isolation suffered by many research workers in the field.[47] As a further means of reducing this isolation, they recommended the setting up of Regional Research Councils in various parts of the Colonial Empire. It was recognised that this recommendation would have to be prosecuted with care, since regional organisations, if wrongly handled, might well prove to be a liability in various ways. Yet there was much to be gained by achieving a satisfactory balance between the greatest possible measure of individual activity, and the need to allocate resources in the most effective possible way.[48]

The practical effect of these proposals was to ensure that the Colonial Research Committee came more and more to adopt the role of a central co-ordinating agency during the years which followed. Its advisory responsibilities were progressively lightened by the establishment — with

[45] *Ibid.*, para.6.
[46] *Ibid.*, para.7.
[47] Cmd. 6535, *Col. Research Committee Report*, 1943-4, para.5.
[48] *Ibid.*, paras. 17 and 18.

the Colonial Secretary's blessing — of a number of specialist committees on the lines already suggested. Greater difficulties were presented in the development of regional organisations. Even here, however, an important advance was achieved with the setting up of a Caribbean Research Council, as a joint enterprise with the United States. At the same time a considerable measure of regional co-ordination proved possible in the British East African territories, where the supervision of research became a responsibility of the East African High Commission.[49] Freed from the necessity of making decisions on a large number of detailed matters concerning individual research programmes, members of the Colonial Research Committee were able to give greater attention to schemes for the overall improvement of research facilities in the Colonial territories.

Several of these schemes were concerned with the creation of a cadre of scientists, well-versed in the background to colonial problems. Arrangements completed in 1944 provided for the creation of twenty-five Colonial Research Fellowships, open for competition amongst suitably-qualified candidates from any part of the Commonwealth and Empire. The intention, as set out in the Colonial Research Committee's annual report, was not only to find answers to colonial problems, but also to bring about a wider awareness of the research possibilities in the colonies amongst a wider variety of scientific opinion.[50] Other schemes attempted to make wider use of the research facilities of particular institutions. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Northern Rhodesia was, for instance, strengthened by additional staff with the intention of encouraging sociological and economic studies in an area where the speed of economic advance seemed likely to give rise to difficult problems.[51]

Nevertheless, serious weaknesses remained in the machinery of consultation with the Colonial Research Committee was required to set about its work. Members of the Committee were frequently concerned by the difficulty of deciding the relative urgency or importance of schemes which had been initiated by the specialist advisory bodies or the regional organisations.[52] They found themselves without any firm guide-lines to assist in forming a unified picture of the problems of development in the contemporary world. Without such guide-lines, it was evident that research facilities could not be used to the greatest

[49] *Ibid.*, 1947-8, para.3.
[50] *Ibid.*, 1943-4, para.14.
[51] *Ibid.*, para.4.
[52] *Ibid.*, 1946-7, para.3.

possible effect. There was clearly a need for research into the aims and implications of development as a valid study in its own right.

**Establishment of the Institute of Development Studies**

In any case, the changed circumstances of the late 1950s and early 1960s, in which programmes of aid were no longer concerned only with the needs of particular territories, but with the wider implications of the relationship between developed and developing countries as a whole, made necessary some fundamental rethinking of the role of overseas research. It was, for instance, no longer reasonable to think in terms of research within one individual discipline alone, since problems of development frequently crossed the lines between a number of different disciplinary studies. Again, it was clearly necessary to break away from the research traditions and modes of thought appropriate to conditions in Western Europe and North America in favour of a much more flexible and pragmatic approach.[53]

The first real attempt within the Commonwealth to meet the challenge of the new situation came in 1962 when a United Kingdom Committee of Inquiry on Training in Public Administration, sitting under the chairmanship of Lord Bridges, recommended that steps should be taken to establish an Institute of Development Studies, under the control of the Department of Technical Co-Operation. The idea aroused considerable interest amongst officials of the overseas departments, and was eventually embodied in a decision of the British Government, during 1966, to establish an Institute on the campus of the University of Sussex at Brighton. Against the background of an inter-disciplinary approach to problems of overseas development, courses of advanced study were to be organised in all aspects of economics, social studies and administration. However, it was intended that modern theories of development would be carefully balanced with practical experience in developing countries. For this reason mainly, attention was to be concentrated on three classes of students: senior administrators from overseas countries, especially those working in planning offices or economic departments; British graduates who hoped to specialise in the problems of overseas development; and British government officials, whether at home or overseas, whose work was concerned with the problems of

[53] See D. Seers, 'From Col. Economics to Development Studies,' in *Institute of Development Studies Bulletin*, 1.1 (June 1968), pp.4-6.

developing countries.[54] Many students in these categories could clearly be expected to make a substantial contribution to research programmes inaugurated by the Institute's staff. The siting of the Institute in close proximity to one of the newer United Kingdom Universities allowed the use of a wide range of academic contacts and facilities. Yet this advantage was not to be allowed to interfere with the possession of a considerable measure of autonomy in the ordering of its own affairs. Control of the Institute was to rest in the hands of a Council, whose members were to be drawn both from government agencies and from universities in the United Kingdom and overseas.[55]

The establishment of the Institute of Development Studies did not mean any intention to supplant facilities which already existed in other universities in Britain and overseas. Indeed, British ministers were at pains to make clear that their support for these facilities would remain no less generous than before.[56] The real importance of the new institution lay in the fact that there was for the first time in the United Kingdom an organisation capable of bringing together experts in all the main fields of development studies. It could be expected that there would emerge, in time, a clearing-house of information and advice on development studies in progress in the United Kingdom and other countries. And it might prove possible to lay down a series of general guide-lines, such as would greatly assist the identification of priorities of research and development in the newer countries of the Commonwealth. These objectives would certainly not be achieved without much difficulty. It seemed, in fact, that the success of the Institute was likely to depend in large measure on its ability to win the confidence and co-operation of large numbers of research workers, scattered through a variety of academic disciplines.

At any rate, initial progress under the leadership of the first Director,

[54] Cmd. 2736, *Overseas Development: the Work of the New Ministry*, 1965, paras.143-144. The establishment of a second Institute of Development Studies on the Nairobi campus of the University of East Africa, during 1967, promised to provide exciting opportunities for research and teaching within close proximity to a number of developing countries.

[55] *Ibid.*, para.146.

[56] *Ibid.*, paras.147 and 148. The British Government already provided assistance for courses intended for overseas students run by the Royal Institute of Public Administration and by a number of university departments, notably the Institute of Local Government Studies at Birmingham University. Assistance was sometimes given to training courses in the developing countries themselves, as, for example, in the case of the East African Staff College.

Dudley Seers, seemed to give some grounds for hope. During the first two years of operation the strength of the staff increased from two to forty-nine, including sociologists, economists, agriculturalists and political scientists, as well as students of public administration and international relations. A variety of activities included individual research, research projects, formal courses, conferences and study seminars. Yet even more significant, as an attempt to establish contact with other workers in development fields, was the appearance, from June 1968, of a quarterly *Bulletin*, aimed at the presentation of brief, direct, and if necessary, controversial articles on current topics of development studies. With the adoption, from 1969, of the practice of concentrating attention on one central theme in each number — for example 'Partners in Development,' 'Manpower Aid,' and 'Population and Environment' — the publication was set fair to bring about a useful dialogue between those working within the Institute and large numbers of colleagues elsewhere.

## Chapter 7

# METHODS AND MEDIA

### The Coming of the Film and Wireless; Efforts to Preserve the Freedom of the Media from Outside Control; Overseas Services of the B.B.C.; The Plymouth Report and the Extension of Broadcasting in the Colonies

The first serious efforts to develop educational co-operation between the countries of the British Commonwealth and Empire happened to coincide with the appearance of revolutionary new techniques in the field of mass communication. With the introduction of the silent film during the early 1900s, and of the sound film and wireless during the 1920s, educationalists, in the more advanced countries at any rate, were presented with a range of exciting possibilities, and a number of difficult problems to be overcome. On the one hand they faced the technical problems involved in adapting the new media to class-room situations, and in devising programmes of a mainly instructional nature. On the other hand they were called upon to reckon with the even more challenging problems of control, since it was evident that the media might not always be used in a way which could be considered beneficial in educational terms.

Questions of control were certainly uppermost in the minds of delegates to the Imperial Education Conference of 1923 when they debated the educational uses of mass media. A distinguished Australian educationalist, Frank Tate,[1] apparently voiced a general feeling of concern when he declared that millions of people throughout the Empire were watching films which had been prepared by foreigners. Might it not happen, he suggested, that the cinema, because of its advantages in conveying instruction in an easy and fascinating manner, would become an instrument of the most insidious propaganda? It was therefore important to establish some kind of partnership between educationalists and the film industry, so as to ensure the production of the right kind of films for popular consumption.[2]

[1] Frank Tate (1863-1939), Director of Education in Victoria, Australia, from 1902 to 1928, was the author of a number of educational reports on Fiji, New Zealand and Southern Rhodesia. As chairman of the Victoria Council of Education he used every opportunity to argue that Australian educationalists must keep in close contact with developments in other countries.

[2] *Report of Imp. Educ. Conf.*, 1923, pp.237-241.

Tate's ideas met with enthusiastic approval from the Conference, and it was agreed to establish a central committee in London, empowered to 'explore the possibilities of utilising the cinema in the service of public instruction, especially through the ordinary routine work of the class-room.' The report of the committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Gorell, was subsequently laid before the next Imperial Education Conference in 1927, and made it clear that moral and sociological, rather than technical, considerations were likely to dominate the thinking of Commonwealth educationalists on this subject for many years to come. It was considered that pressure could continue to be exerted on film-makers to ensure that acceptable standards were maintained. In further discussions by the Conference it was agreed that the cinema, as an instrument of mass instruction, was likely to offer serious disadvantages at a time when programmes of education were placing ever-increasing emphasis on the interests of the individual child. Delegates considered that the magic lantern could do much that the cinema was being asked to do, though they were prepared to admit, rather grudgingly, perhaps, that the latter might be found to have limited educational value, as a means of widening the child's horizons, carrying out revision, and influencing certain emotional attitudes.[3]

If delegates to the Imperial Education Conference gave an impression of exaggerated caution in their approach to the possibilities of the new media, and if they showed little awareness of the large number of technical problems to be overcome, this was scarcely surprising considering the circumstances of the time. There was, as yet, remarkably little experience of the educational use of film in any of the countries of the Commonwealth, and certainly not enough to provide any significant body of know-how and advice. The Department of Education in Ontario, and the Ministry of Agriculture in England and Wales had produced instructional films, whilst in Southern Rhodesia, schools had been provided with projectors and a number of suitable films made available for exhibition outside school hours.[4] Yet it was clear that further technical progress was likely to depend in large measure on the extent to which individual governments were prepared to invest in expensive equipment and skilled personnel.

Rather different circumstances concerned the earliest attempts at

[3] *Ibid.*, 1927, pp.80-82.

[4] *Ibid.* During the 1930s a Colonial Film Unit, operating under the control of the Colonial Office, made a series of films about life in the African territories.

educational broadcasting, in which it proved possible to establish a much larger measure of public control. The foundation of the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1927 represented an attempt by government to establish an authority which would have, on the one hand, both a monopoly and an assured revenue, and, on the other, the greatest possible measure of freedom and responsibility in responding to popular criticism. Under its constitution, the B.B.C. was administered by a board of governors which was independent of control by government, though responsible to Parliament for its decisions. With freedom from political and commercial pressures, the Corporation was able to concentrate on the task of maintaining the quality and suitability of all wireless programmes transmitted within the United Kingdom. Such a state of affairs was obviously more difficult to achieve in the Dominions and Colonial territories, where restrictions on national resources might enforce some kind of partnership with commercial interests. Yet the distinctively British approach to the problems of control in broadcasting set certain guide-lines which other Commonwealth governments often found worth adapting to the conditions of their own particular countries.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, established in 1936, was an autonomous public service authority on the lines of the B.B.C. It did not, however, enjoy a monopoly of public broadcasting, since a number of commercial broadcasting stations were also licensed to operate in Canada. A broadly similar status was enjoyed by the Australian Boardcasting Commission, set up in 1932, and the New Zealand National Broadcasting Service, founded in 1936, both of which were called upon to maintain national services in competition with commercial stations. A more restrictive monopoly was held by the South African Broadcasting Corporation, founded in 1936, which did not face any kind of commercial competition until the launching of its own commercial service in 1950.[6] In British Colonial territories, broadcasting services were sometimes established under government control, as in Hong Kong (1928), the Falkland Islands (1929), Sierra Leone (1934), the Gold Coast (1935) and Fiji (1935), and sometimes as the result of agreements between government and commercial interests, as in Kenya (1928), Gibraltar (1934) and Malta (1935). Whenever agreements were made with commercial interests, however, it was invariably stipulated that control over the programmes to be

[6] Mary Crozier, *Broadcasting*, London 1958, pp.51-62.

produced would remain in government hands.[6] The appointment of a Committee under the chairmanship of the Earl of Plymouth during 1936 indicated a desire by the British Government to receive expert advice on the future methods of extending broadcasting services in the colonial territories. In the course of its report, presented during the following year, the Committee included a far-sighted acceptance of the responsibilities of broadcasting authorities in the educational field: 'We envisage the development of colonial broadcasting . . . and its justification not only as an instrument of entertainment . . . but also as an instrument of advanced information',[7] Bearing these considerations in mind, the Committee recommended that broadcasting should be developed as a public service, preferably without advertising, and with participation in control by all government departments, including the education authority.[8]

In contrast to the film industry, therefore, broadcasting presented from an early stage a position in which services could with little difficulty be restricted to educational or semi-educational ends, and in which there were frequent opportunities for co-operation between educationalists and the producers of programmes. As if in recognition of this fact, delegates to the Imperial Education Conference of 1927 engaged in a much more detailed examination of the technical problems of using wireless in the class-room than they had found possible in the case of films. They were at pains to emphasise the importance of close co-operation between broadcasting personnel and teachers, of good receiving sets, and of careful preparation before listening to a broadcast lesson. Moreover, arrangements were made with the B.B.C. for face-to-face discussions with the Corporation's experts on educational broadcasting and on research to extend transmissions to the Dominions and colonial territories.[9]

Before the end of 1927, in fact, the B.B.C. had established its first experimental short-wave transmitter at Chelmsford, and its regular Empire Service was inaugurated on 19 December 1932. B.B.C. officials had initially hoped and planned for a comphrehensive imperial broadcasting service, supported by the governments of the Dominions and Colonies, and had submitted plans along these lines to both the

[6] C.O.1., Ref. Pamphlet 4319, *Broadcasting in the United Kingdom Dependencies*, 1960, p.3.
[7] Col. No. 139, *Interim Report of Committee on Col. Broadcasting*, 1937, para.14.
[8] *Ibid.*, para.25.
[9] *Report of Imp. Educ. Conf.*, 1927, pp.79-80.

Colonial Conference of 1929 and the Imperial Conference of 1932. However, in the face of a variety of technical and administrative difficulties, no decision had been taken, and the increase of world economic difficulties during the 1930s made it evident that at least the bulk of the financial burden would have to be borne from the Corporation's revenues alone. In moving ahead with the more restricted scheme for a short-wave broadcasting service after 1932, the B.B.C. was forced to contend with a large number of practical difficulties. It was necessary, for instance, to devise programmes suited to the circumstances and needs of many different communities in various parts of the Empire. And it was no less important to take account of differences in time, necessitating different hours of transmission. Yet these difficulties notwithstanding, the policy of the Corporation from the outset was to insist on a strong educational content, whether directly through programmes with a distinctly instructional value, or indirectly through talks and a coverage of current events.[10]

With the outbreak of the Second World War, the B.B.C. was called upon to undertake a considerable expansion of its services in order to provide a world-wide advertisement of the standpoint of Britain and her allies. The situation was not without its advantages, since from this time onward the external services could count on the support of a regular grant-in-aid from Parliament. Moreover, there was no attempt to impose any closer measure of government control over the programmes to be produced. Indeed, the B.B.C.'s autonomy seemed to be confirmed by the words of a White Paper on Broadcasting in 1945, which intimated the government's intention that 'the Corporation should remain independent in the preparation of programmes for overseas audiences, though it should obtain from the government department concerned such information about conditions in those countries and the policies of H.M. Government towards them as will permit it to plan the programmes in the national interest.'[11] Nor was there any departure from the practice of giving special attention to educational needs. The B.B.C.'s Colonial Service continued to broadcast educational programmes intended for particular territories, usually in English, though sometimes in other languages, as in the case of Malta (Maltese) and Mauritius (French). Arrangements were also made for the reproduction of B.B.C. material by broadcasting authorities overseas, an especially valuable practice in countries with highly-developed broadcasting systems of their own, where there was com-

[10] *B.B.C.: the Empire Service*, 1937, pp.6-12.
[11] *The B.B.C. and its External Services*, London 1956, p.10.

paratively little need for a direct B.B.C. service.[12] In technical matters, too, the B.B.C. worked in close co-operation with many of the colonial broadcasting authorities, assisting them through the secondment of specialist staff, and the provision of courses of training for overseas students.[13]

Though the outbreak of war meant a delay in the implementation of the Plymouth Committee's recommendations for an expansion of broadcasting facilities in the colonial territories, the matter received considerable attention during the years which followed. 'I hope,' declared the Colonial Secretary in 1948, 'that every Colonial Government will consider whether its existing arrangements for broadcasting are adequate, and, in the case of the Colonies without broadcasting services, whether some action can now be taken to develop such services.'[14] Any expansion of colonial broadcasting facilities must clearly have been confronted by difficulties of a particularly formidable kind. A large number of territories were tropical lands where hostile natural conditions had slowed the pace of economic and social development, and where there was a shortage of finance and skilled personnel. In many, the nature of the terrain ensured that innumerable technical problems would have to be overcome. Not infrequently, there was the difficulty of introducing broadcasting to people who had not been in contact with the medium before. Much remained to be done in poorer countries to provide access to listening facilities; a few exceptional schemes, such as the efforts made by the Government of Ceylon in providing receiving sets in village halls, merely served to underline the absence of progress in other territories.[15] In the case of multi-lingual societies, there was sometimes an absence of any common language, such as English, which could be generally understood. Particularly serious obstacles stood in the way of educational broadcasting. With the exception of experiments in Uganda during the period between the wars, virtually no research had been done on listener reactions to different types of programmes. Nor had the main implication of the Uganda investigations — that the most successful programmes were those which used personnel as announcers and content advisers — been followed up with any firm measures.[16]

The most serious difficulties were indeed likely to be concerned

[12] *Ibid.*, p.11.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp.19-20.
[14] C.O.1. Ref. Pamphlet 4319, p.5.
[15] Col. No. 186, *Mass Educ. in African Soc.*, 1944, para.116.
[16] *Ibid.*, paras.110-111.

with the provision of suitable programme staff. Though the transcription of programmes from the B.B.C. and other authorities was likely to continue for some time to come, there was an urgent need to recruit and train local staff, capable of producing material with a direct appeal to the communities which they served. 'It will be necessary,' observed a British White Paper issued just before the end of the war, 'to combine in a single individual a general education much in advance of that of the audience to be addressed; a bent for educational work . . . the knowledge of their history, customs, folklore, music and dancing and of the mental attitudes of the audience which only a common kinship can bestow; idiom to use the mother tongue accurately and with all the flexibility and wealth of idiom it may possess.'[17] No doubt British administrators, in applying their characteristic policy of adapting education to local institutions and traditions, could be expected to make particularly vigorous use of the broadcasting medium as a means of local self-expression.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the aims of educational broadcasting came to vary considerably according to the social and economic circumstances of each individual territory. Sometimes the emphasis was placed on information, as in the West Indies where radio was used to explain the nature of the Federation which came into being in 1958, and in Sarawak where there were talks on Commonwealth and international affairs. Sometimes mass education received particular attention, as in the case of literacy campaigns in Malaya, and in British Honduras where the broadcasting authority co-operated closely with the Extra-Mural Department of the University of the West Indies in a community development project in rural areas. The Central African Broadcasting Service, from its inception in 1941, attempted to present a balanced programme, aimed at assisting the improvement of living standards in both rural and urban districts, and at explaining the purpose of schemes for local development. In Sierra Leone, attempts were made to interest listeners in creative writing through the broadcast of plays and stories written by Sierra Leone people themselves. In virtually every territory, special broadcasts were made to schools, some of the material coming from the transcription service of the B.B.C., but with the greatest possible use of local sources.[18]

[17] *Ibid.*, para.113.

[18] C.O.I. *Ref.* Pamphlet 4319, pp.13-16. By 1960 there were regular broadcasts during school time in Barbados, British Guiana, Fiji, Jamaica, Malta, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sarawak, Singapore, Tanganyika, Trinidad and the Windward Isles. There were broadcasts out of school hours in Cyprus and British Honduras.

**The Royal Commonwealth Society and the Commonwealth Institute**

With the foundation of the Colonial Society at London during 1868 there was available for the first time the facilities of an independent organisation committed to the dissemination of knowledge concerning the British overseas territories. The Society was subsequently incorporated as the Royal Colonial Institute in 1882, and re-named the Royal Empire Society in 1928 and the Royal Commonwealth Society in 1958. As originally constituted, it represented an attempt to combat a lack of interest in the Colonies, which characterised British opinion at the middle of the nineteenth century. There was, suggested one of the leading founder members, Chichester Fortescue, M.P., 'a great want to knowledge of Colonial matters amongst a large class of people in this country who ought to know better;' though people in the United Kingdom could scarcely expect to instruct the citizens of the Colonies in matters which they understood more effectively than anyone else, they could nevertheless assist in making available such scientific knowledge as might contribute to the development of Colonial life.[19] With this end in view, the early fellows of the Society set themselves the task of providing a comprehensive range of educational facilities, including a library, lecture-hall, reading-room and museum. They declared their main objects to be the provision of 'opportunities for the reading of papers and the holding of discussions upon colonial subjects generally,' and the encouragement of 'investigations in connection with the Colonies which are carried out in a more general field by the Royal Society, the Society of Arts, the Royal Geographical Society and by similar bodies in Great Britain.'[20]

Only one part of the educational programme envisaged in 1968 was not carried forward during the years which followed. It proved impracticable to provide a museum, in the face of repeated failures to obtain financial assistance from the British Goverment, and alternative facilities were in any case made available with the establishment of the Imperial Institute in 1887. Other aspects of the Society's work were pressed forward with remarkable industry, particularly after 1885 when the erection of a new building on Northumberland Avenue allowed the advantages of a permanent headquarters in central London. The Society's chief service to education almost certainly lay in the provision of the first specialist library on imperial affairs. The number of volumes

[19] *Royal Col. Soc. Procs.*, 1 (1870), pp.5-6.
[20] *Ibid.*, p.20.
[21] *Ibid.*, 33 (1902), p.138 and 38 (1907), p.122.

increased from only 300 in 1873 to 70,000 in 1907. Relatively few of these had been purchased, since the strength of the collection lay in official handbooks and works of reference, usually presented by the territorial governments concerned. A large number of Indian and other Empire newspapers were received free of charge from the publishers. 'This remarkable library,' judged a report of the Royal Colonial Institute at the beginning of the century, 'is a triumph of completeness, and deserves a wider fame than its quiet, unostentatious work has as yet commanded.'[21] During 1913 an attempt was made to make available the facilities of the library to much wider groups of researchers through the organisation of an information bureau on the British Empire.[22]

The Society's 'papers committee' appears to have met with little difficulty in maintaining a programme of lectures by experts in various fields. Political topics were generally rejected during the early years, as likely to lead to undesirable divisions of opinion. It was probably a significant indication of the background and interests of the early fellows that Canadian, Australian and South African topics were more in evidence than any concerned with India or East or West Africa. As yet, the chief concern was with maintaining the unity of British people, at home and overseas, and with reminding British opinion of the conditions 'which render our distant possessions suitable fields for emigration and for honourable enterprise.'[23] The publication of lectures and a variety of other material was effected through the annual *Proceedings* which, in 1909, was combined with the Institute's *Journal* to form a new periodical called *United Empire* (from 1958 the *Journal of the Royal Commonwealth Society*.)[24]

From any early stage in its history the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute endeavoured to encourage the development of Empire studies among secondary school pupils in the United Kingdom. Inquiries made among Public and grammar school headmasters during 1883 revealed that the main obstacles to this purpose were presented by a lack of suitable text-books, maps and other teaching materials. As a means of arousing the interests of educationalists in the matter the Council made a collection of materials already in use in the schools of overseas territories. Then, during 1889, it assumed responsibility for the

[22] Royal Col. Soc. Council Minutes, 9 (7 Feb. 1911), p.146; (1 July 1913), p.457.

[23] *Royal Col. Inst. Procs.*, 24 (1893), pp.365 and 370.

[24] Royal Commonwealth Soc. Library Notes, 18 (June 1958), p.2.

publication of a series of text-books on the history and geography of various areas in the British Empire.[25]

A scheme introduced during 1883 for an essay competition on Empire subjects for school pupils won remarkably little support, and had to be abandoned two years later because neither the number of entries nor the quality of the work was considered satisfactory. However, an attempt to revive the competition in 1913 — this time on a more ambitious scale with support from schools both in the United Kingdom and overseas — proved more successful, and it henceforward became a permanent feature of the Institute's educational programme.[26] By 1967 more than 800 entries were being received every year, whilst the addition of a new group project promised to open up opportunities for partnership between schools in different Commonwealth countries.[27]

Though the educational programme of the Council was concentrated on arousing the interest of teachers and pupils in secondary schools, there was also an awareness of the need to provide at least some basic knowledge about the Empire during the primary school years. Repeated attempts were made — with little success — to persuade education authorities in the United Kingdom that Empire studies should form part of the normal requirements of the primary school programme. However, an important break-through was achieved in 1892 when the Education Committee of the Privy Council agreed to amend its *Code of Regulations* so as to prescribe the teaching of the geography of India and other British territories to Standards IV-VII. The instructions given by the Education Committee to its inspectors almost certainly reflected arguments put forward by the Royal Colonial Institute in calling for the emphasis of 'those climatic and other conditions which render our distant possessions suitable fields for emigration and for honourable enterprise.'[28]

A wider and more influential sphere of educational activitiy opened for the Institute after 1915, when it assumed responsibility for the organisation and financing of an Imperial Studies Committee, formed three

[25] Early publications in the series included *The West Indies* by C. Washington Ives (1889) and *The History of the Dominion of Canada, The Geography of Canada and Newfoundland* and *The Geography of Africa, South of Zambesi*, all by W. P. Greswell (1890 to 1892).

[26] Royal Col. Inst. Council Minutes, 10 (4 Nov. 1913), pp.23-24.

[27] T. R. Reese, *Hist. of the Roy. Commonwealth Soc.*, London 1968, p.229.

[28] *Royal Col. Inst. Procs.*, 2 (1893), pp.118-182. The membership of the Imperial Studies Committee also included representatives of the Board of Education, the London County Council, the Victoria League and the Universities Bureau of the British Empire.

years earlier within the University of London. During the years which followed the functions of the Committee were extended to include the provision of lecture programmes, at first in a number of United Kingdom Universities, and later in schools and institutions of adult education.[29] In 1918 an opportunity was provided for greatly increasing the effectiveness of the lecture programme in schools, when the Imperial Studies Committee was entrusted with responsibility for the work previously carried out by the Visual Instruction Committee of the Colonial Office.

The Visual Instruction Committee had been established by the Colonial Secretary in 1902, largely at the instigation of a leading protagonist of social and educational development in the Colonies, Reginald Brabazon, twelfth Earl of Meath, with the object of providing teaching material for the territories of the British Empire. The first important enterprise in which it engaged was the preparation of a series of lectures on life in Britain, illustrated by lantern slides, for use in schools overseas. Members of the Committee were, however, also anxious to provide material on the overseas territories for use in Britain. Since no government grant was available for this work, a committee of ladies was formed under the active patronage of the Princess of Wales, later H.M. Queen Mary, and succeeded in raising nearly £4,000 from private sources. Most of the money was spent in assisting the publication of a series of six text-books: *India (1910), The Sea Road to the East (1912), Australia (1913), Canada and Newfoundland (1913), South Africa (1914) and The West Indies (1914).* The volumes contained the text of a number of lectures,[30] each of which was to be illustrated by approximately sixty slides. In the case of the first four publications, the majority of slides came from the collection of A. Hugh Fisher (1867-1945), an artist and photographer, who made several journeys on behalf of the Visual Instruction Committee between 1907 and 1910. Fisher's illustrations were of an unusually high quality, and frequently included subjects which did not normally come to the attention of the overseas traveller.[31]

[29] T. R. Reese, p.138.

[30] The first book of lectures, on India, was written by H. J. Mackinder, a former Director of the London School of Economics, the next four by A. J. Sargent, and the last, on the West Indies, by Algernon Aspinall.

[31] Royal Commonwealth Soc. Library Notes, New Series, 149 (May 1969), p.1. Fisher's photographs were subsequently transferred to the keeping of the Royal Colonial Institute where for many years they were lost to view. During 1969 they were re-discovered in the Society's strong-room by the present librarian, Mr. Donald Simpson.

The Imperial Studies Committee endeavoured for several years to continue the work of the Visual Instruction Committee through the production of further illustrated lecture programmes. However, an increasing availability of suitable illustrated text-books from the mid-1920s on, together with efforts by the Imperial Institute to supply a variety of visual material for use in schools, made this field of activity seem much less necessary than before. The Committee therefore came to lay much greater stress on the development of advanced studies. This new policy was carried forward under the direction of the Committee's secretary, Dr A. P. Newton, who, having found it difficult to continue with an academic career as a physicist after the loss of an eye, turned to the study of imperial history, and was eventually appointed to the Rhodes Chair in the University of London. In the Royal Colonial Institute, which he served in various capacities for nearly thirty years, Newton found an ideal outlet for his remarkable intellectual energy. The Imperial Studies Series, which he introduced during 1927, provided an opportunity for the publication of full-length works on the Empire and Commonwealth by younger scholars who had yet to achieve recognition in their fields.[32] He was also chiefly responsible for the publication of a series of pamphlets intended for academic readers, and, after 1930, for the organisation of annual summer schools in one of the older United Kingdom Universities.[33]

An early crisis in the affairs of the Royal Colonial Institute came as the result of a decision by a committee under the patronage of the Prince of Wales, later H.M. King Edward VII, to establish an Imperial Institute in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession in 1887. The original Imperial Institute scheme, as pressed forward by its supporters during the decade or so which followed, provided for some kind of amalgamation with the Royal Colonial Institute. From the outset, the fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute showed themselves fearful of absorption by the junior but potentially more influential body. Their fears were apparently based in part on

[32] The Imperial Studies Series was suspended in 1942 because of the war and did not begin again until 1953 in the absence of adequate financial support. The establishment of a Commonwealth Studies Foundation, as the result of an appeal by the Royal Commonwealth Society in 1957, seemed to give hope for continuity in the future. By 1967 twenty-seven volumes had been produced.

[33] T. R. Reese, pp.115-116. In 1930 Mrs Walter Frewen Lord, widow of a distinguished author on imperial history, gave £500 to the Society for an annual prize in British imperial history. More advanced studies were recognised by the award of the Society's gold medal.

the possible loss of traditions and privileges built up over two decades of vigorous activity, in part on the threat to their sound financial position and the prospect of having to move from Northumberland Avenue to 'the dreary wastes of South Kensington.[34] There were cries of dissent at the anniversary banquet of 1893 when Lord Knutsford referred hopefully to the celebration by future generations of 'the silver wedding of the Royal Colonial Institute with the Imperial Institute.'[35]

In the outcome, the strength of feeling among fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute proved instrumental in preserving for each of the two socieities an individual identity of its own. This relationship was not unreasonable in practice, since the authorities of the Imperial Institute concentrated their resources on the provision of a museum, and were therefore to a large extent complementing the facilities of the Royal Colonial Institute. When, several decades later, the Council of the Imperial Institute decided to make a further advance into educational fields, its activities were based on the production and exhibition of a variety of visual material such as only a specialist museum could be expected to hold. As re-organised under the terms of an Act of the British Parliament in 1925, the Institute's premises in London became a centre where a permanent exhibition of the products of each of the territories of the British Empire, other than the United Kingdom, could be housed under one roof.[36] From the outset, it was intended to produce a work of outstandingly high quality, dioramas and transparencies being used to very good effect. However, no less significant than the exhibition itself was an attempt to present supplementary material through other media, whenever this proved feasible. An Imperial Gallery of Art, established on the Institute's premises during 1928, provided an opportunity for the display of work by contemporary artists from all parts of the Empire. A cinema, opened during the following year, with the aid of a substantial grant from the Empire Marketing Board, permitted the showing of instructional films, both to school classes and the general public.[37]

[34] *Royal Col. Inst. Procs.*, 18 (1887), pp.165-166, and 24 (1893), pp.211-215.

[35] *Ibid.*, 24 (1893), pp.265-286.

[36] 15 *and* 16 *Geo.* 5, *Ch. XVII.*

[37] *Report of Imp. Institute*, 1926, pp.2-4. The Empire Marketing Board sponsored a variety of educational activities—film shows, lectures, poster production and B.B.C. programmes—with the object of extending interest in Empire products. See W. R. Creighton, 'The Educational Work of the Empire Marketing Board,' in *Oversea Education*, 1.1 (Oct. 1929), p.7-10.

Members of the Institute staff were keenly aware that a large part of their work must be concerned with the promotion of interest in the countries of the Empire amongst young people. During the first few decades of the Institute's life they were forced by circumstances to concentrate their attention on children living within easy reach of London, who were taken on tours of the galleries, or encouraged to receive lessons there under the supervision of their own teachers. However, after the close of the Second World War, efforts were made to organise activities on a progressively wider scale. As the Director explained in the course of his report for 1954: 'It is of importance for the future of the Commonwealth that the younger generation, not only in the United Kingdom, but in all other Commonwealth countries as well, should be taught to understand the history and the present structure of the Commonwealth, the shared principles and ideals on which its strength is founded, and its great potentialities for the future of the free world.'[38]

A start was made in the United Kingdom, where it was hoped to establish a much wider basis of operations as a preparation for activities overseas. A Scottish Committee, formed in 1954 after agreement with the Scottish Education Office and other educational interests, was intended to organise, as far as practicable, activities similar to those already in progress in the south of England. In Wales and Northern Ireland, lecture tours and conferences were held in co-operation with the Local Education Authorities.[39] These extensions in activitiy made it possible to experiment with more ambitious methods of teaching and presentation. A body of expert lecturers was employed in giving talks on Commonwealth subjects. Sixth Form conferences were organised, sometimes to discuss particular countries in the Commonwealth, sometimes to deal with wider aspects of Commonwealth affairs. More significant, perhaps, as a step towards offering a greater range of services to Commonwealth countries as a whole, study-kits and class-room dioramas were produced, with accompanying teaching-notes and suggestions for project work. Finally, in an attempt to encourage similar innovations elsewhere, projects on a variety of Commonwealth subjects were organised in British grammar schools and colleges of education.[40]

Another important extension of responsibility seemed to be indicated by an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament during 1958 which gave the institution a new name and character as the Commonwealth Insti-

[38] *Report of Imp. Institute*, 1954, p.16.
[39] *Ibid.*, p.17.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp.19-24, 1955, pp.26-27, and 1956, pp.24-26.

tute.[41] The Act attempted to bring the administration of the Institute into line with the new multi-racial, multi-centred Commonwealth which was coming into being. There was to be a much broader representation of Commonwealth Governments on the Board of Trustees, and a new and more purposeful Institute building. A new building was, in any case, made necessary by a decision to demolish the Institute's original premises in South Kensington to make way for an expansion of the Imperial College of Science and Technology. The British Government agreed to make available a site at the southern end of Holland Park, with a frontage on Kensington High Street, and an unusually imaginative design was produced by the architects, Messrs Robert Matthew and Johnson-Marshall. When eventually opened by H.M. Queen Elizabeth II, on 6 November 1962, the new building opened up possibilities for a much more ambitious exhibition than had been possible before.[42]

The educational policy of the Commonwealth Institute moved along two main lines of approach. In the first place, within the United Kingdom itself, an attempt was made to encourage the teaching of knowledge and understanding of the Commonwealth, not merely as an incidental part of normal school subjects, but as a worthwhile study in its own right. A conference on 'The Commonwealth and Education,' organised by the Institute during October 1960, and attended by representatives of the universities, colleges of education, teaching profession and educational administrators, reached several important conclusions about the nature of Commonwealth studies and the steps which might be taken to promote them in British schools. It was considered that teaching about the Commonwealth up to Ordinary Level should not take the form of a separate school subject, but should be interwoven into a number of subjects as seemed appropriate; nevertheless, special course work on Commonwealth topics should be provided in both the

[41] 15 *and* 16 *Geo.* 5, *Ch. XVII.*

[42] *Report of Commonwealth Inst.*, 1958, p.7. The intention of the architects was to produce a building of modern design, which whilst harmonising with a woodland setting, would also express the young and vigorous outlook of Commonwealth peoples. The forecourt off Kensington High Street is dominated by the flags of the Commonwealth countries, flying symbolically over the water of an ornamental pond. The main entrance is by way of a gentle ramp leading to a circular platform, from which rise three tiers of exhibitions by Commonwealth countries. In the western wing of the building are administrative offices; a restaurant; a reception centre and dining space for schools; conference rooms; a reference library and reading-room; a cinema; and a large gallery intended for art exhibitions.

final year of the secondary modern course and in the Sixth Form. Considerable emphasis was laid on the value of personal contacts, through meetings or correspondence with pupils and teachers overseas.[43] By such means, it seemed, a series of guide-lines might emerge, capable of giving Commonwealth studies a much more prominent place in the life of British schools.

In the second place, officials of the Commonwealth Institute continued with their endeavours to achieve increasingly closer contacts with the peoples of Commonwealth countries overseas. As the Director, Kenneth Bradley,[44] explained in his annual report for 1959: 'Without in any way underestimating the importance of the educational need still to be met in this country, those who are concerned with promoting knowledge of the Commonwealth are beginning to realise that a far greater problem remains to be solved overseas. The ties which link the Commonwealth together are becoming stronger and more numerous, but there is still everywhere an urgent need for building up knowledge and understanding.'[45] Short of a dramatic increase in both revenue and the numbers of available personnel, there could be little possibility of organising courses on a regular basis outside the United Kingdom. However, there was certainly a great deal which could be done to bring students and teachers in Britain and other Commonwealth countries into intimate contact with each other. Among the first steps taken by the Commonwealth Institute in this direction were the organisation of field study courses, beginning with a visit by a party of British geographers to East Africa during 1967 to examine the transect from the Ruwenzori Mountains to the Indian Ocean,[46] and of educational cruises to comparatively inaccessible parts of the Commonwealth in West Africa and the Caribbean.[47]

**The British Council; Re-organisation after the Drogheda Report; the Teaching of English as a Second Language**

Meanwhile, through the machinery of the British Council, the British

[43] *Report of Commonwealth Inst.*, 1960, pp.16-17.
[44] Sir Kenneth Bradley (b. 1904, Kt. 1963) was Director of the Commonwealth Institute from 1953 to 1969. Previously he had served with distinction in H.M. Colonial Service and was the first editor of *Corona* from 1948 to 1953. Among a large body of writings, mainly on African affairs, his best known work is almost certainly *The Living Commonwealth*, published in 1961.
[45] *Report of Commonwealth Inst.*, 1959, p.21.
[46] *Ibid.*, 1967, pp.20-21.
[47] *Ibid.*, 1968, p.25, 1969, p.40 and 1970, pp.34-36.

Government had been able to make an important contribution to schemes for teaching the English language and literature in overseas countries. As originally constituted in 1934, under the rather cumbersome title of 'The British Council for Relations with other Countries,' the Council was an offspring of the Foreign Office, with responsibility for providing a distinctively British reply to the vigorous cultural propaganda then being produced by a number of European powers. However, even during these early days, the British Council succeeded in establishing a position of considerable independence from government policy. Whatever the inclinations of its officials might otherwise have been, the narrow measure of financial support allowed by Parliament made it difficult to engage in political work to any significant extent. Instead, the Council pressed forward with the much less ambitious aim of attempting, in the countries where it operated, to create a basis of friendly knowledge and understanding of the people of the United Kingdom and their way of life, leading at length to a sympathetic appreciation of the aims of British foreign policy:

> The annhiliation of distance in the modern world, and the other peaceful and warlike inventions of the age, have brought the different races and civilisations of the world rapidly and violently together.
>
> The constant interchange of knowledge, ideas and discoveries was always the life of Europe in its wiser days. It is rightly now no less the life of the world. Neighbourliness, as it may be called, has spread in widening circles since the days when a man in the next country was a foreigner, until our neighbours are in the Americas and the China Seas, no less than in Western Europe. To foster that interchange in the interests of peaceful and happy international relations is rightly to be regarded as a function of the prudent state.[48]

In seeking to put this policy into practice, the Council worked mainly through cultural centres called British Institutes, and through a variety of Anglophil societies in countries overseas. Though encouragement was given to English studies of various kinds, the main emphasis was placed on teaching the English language. With this purpose in mind, efforts were made to build up libraries of English books, both in British Institutes and in other educational institutions. At the same time the sale of British books abroad was encouraged by a Book Export Scheme, and by arrangements for ensuring that reviews appeared in overseas newspapers and periodicals. Use was made of broadcasting, in co-operation

[48] *Brit. Counc. Reports*, 1940-45, p.15.

with the B.B.C., of educational films, documentaries and newsreels, some being produced under the Council's own supervision, and of occasional exhibitions of drama and the visual arts. In this way the Council's staff came to acquire a measure of experience and skill in the handling of audio-visual equipment which was rarely equalled by other agencies of international co-operation in education.[49]

From the nature of the task which confronted the British Council during the early years of its existence, it was perhaps unavoidable that work in foreign countries should be regarded as a matter of first priority. For the moment, at any rate, there was less reason to develop activities in the Dominions and Colonies, where British ideals and achievements were still very little challenged. The Council tended, therefore, to confine its Commonwealth activities to the holding of occasional exhibitions, by invitation, in the Dominions, and the establishment of British Institutes, on the normal pattern, in a number of colonial centres in the Mediterranean and Middle East. The first of these, at Valetta, in Malta, was founded in 1939; another in Cyprus followed in 1940; in 1941 the former Ministry of Information Library in Aden was expanded into an Institute; a further Institute was founded in Gibraltar during 1944.[50]

From the mid 1940s on, however, a very different situation began to be unfolded, as British ministers prepared to lead the Colonies at a much faster pace along the pathway to self-government than had previously been considered practicable. Some evidence of a new departure in the relationship of the British Council to Commonwealth

[49] *Ibid.*, pp.22-27.

[50] 'The Brit. Counc. in the Empire,' in *C.R.*, IV.3 (Sept. 1945), p.85. Apart from the work of the British Council, important services in the provision of English-language books for the Commonwealth were rendered by the Ranfurly Library Service. In 1954 Lord Ranfurly who was then Governor of the Bahamas, attempted to meet a shortage of reading material among children in the territory through the collection of books in Britain, Canada and the United States. These activities developed into the establishment of a permanent circulating library which became a useful auxiliary to the work of Bahaman schools and community associations. In 1959, on hearing of a similar need in other developing territories, notably Nigeria and the then Central African Federation, Lord Ranfurly arranged to co-operate with the English-Speaking Union in establishing the service on a Commonwealth basis, with headquarters in London. Associated donor Ranfurly Libraries were set up in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The Ranfurly Library Service was re-organised as a separate charitable organisation during 1966. During 1971 more than half a million books were shipped to overseas countries. I am indebted for this information to Mr Clive A. Hallifax, Assistant Secretary of the Ranfurly Library Service.

countries seemed to be provided by a government announcement of June 1946, intimating that, in order to avoid overlapping between the Council and the government's overseas information services, 'it has been laid down that in future the Council's scope will be restricted to educational and cutural work.'[51] This intention was confirmed by the words of a Royal Charter of 1948, incorporating the Council for the purpose of promoting knowledge of the United Kingdom and the English language abroad, and of developing 'closer cultural relations between the United Kingdom . . . and other countries for the purpose of benefiting the British Commonwealth of Nations.'[52] The change might well appear, on the surface at least, to be of only minor importance, since the British Council was already engaged on operations in these fields. Nevertheless, the implications were of far-reaching importance. Through achieving a formal release from its responsibility to further the interests of official British policy abroad, the Council was at last free to engage in whatever activities might seem desirable, from an educational viewpoint alone.

During the post-war years the Council attempted to devise a new educational strategy appropriate to operations in Commonwealth countries. Many of the methods previously used in foreign countries were clearly not suited to the purpose. Some Commonwealth countries, such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand, exemplified the British way of life. Others, notably India, Pakistan and Ceylon, possessed ancient and vigorous cultures of their own, whilst also being influenced by a long history of British connection. In many of the newer African countries, ancient indigenous cultures provided the basis of a steadily-growing upsurge of national feeling. It was necessary, therefore, for Council officials to develop a number of different approaches according to the circumstances of each individual territory. There could be no question of following any regular pattern of work through the Commonwealth as a whole. It was a situation, as one of the Council's annual reports put it, of being 'engaged rather in meeting needs than in conducting a campaign.'[53]

An attempt to identify some of the main priorities for future development was made by a Committee of Enquiry into the overseas information services, under the chairmanship of the Earl of Drogheda, which reported during 1954. In what was almost certainly the most significant of the Committee's recommendations, the British Council was urged to

[51] *Brit. Counc. Report*, 1946, p.7.
[52] Brit. Counc. Home Library, R 301-1535, Royal Charter of Incorporation, 7 Oct. 1948.
[53] *Brit. Counc. Report*, 1953-1954, p.34.

meet the educational opportunities now being presented in Africa and Asia, even at the expense of a sharp reduction of its activities in Europe and the older Dominions. More specifically, it was suggested that there should be a large-scale expansion of work on the Indian sub-continent, whilst the Council's establishments in Australia and New Zealand should be handed over to the care of the respective United Kingdom High Commissioners.[54] These recommendations were not altogether welcome to Council officials, anxious as they were to maintain, and even extend, their work in the older Dominions.[55] Nevertheless, the realities of the situation were clear enough to see. The British Council was being called upon to give much closer attention to the newly-emerging countries of the Commonwealth, and to experiment with new methods of organisation, and new teaching procedures, calculated to meet their needs.

As the Dregheda Committe was careful to point out, the Council was not required to concern itself directly with the teaching of English in colonial territories, since this was the responsibility of the local education authorities. In contrast to activities hitherto carried on in foreign countries, the main task lay in 'the sphere of adult education in its broadest sense,' and in 'assisting generally in the development of the social and cultural life of the Colony.'[56] Even these broad aims, however, were obviously closely bound up with the development of proficiency in both spoken and written English, as an avenue to educational advancement in a wide variety of ways and more particularly, as a means of benefiting from scientific and technical publications. The main part of the Council's work continued, therefore, to be concerned with assistance to language teaching, though with a very different emphasis than before. The intention now was to encourage English, not as a means of appreciating British ideas and the British way of life, but as a necessary medium of communication with English-speaking communities in various parts of the world.

This study of English as a second language, in countries where a non-English vernacular remained the language of the home, was likely to demand considerable research and experiment, if significant results were to be achieved. As a first step in this direction, the British Council, at the suggestion of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals

[54] Cmd. 9138, *Report of Committee of Enquiry into Overseas Information Services*, 1954, paras.30-41.
[55] *Brit. Coun. Report*, 1953-1954, p.37-38.
[56] Cmd. 9138, *Report of Committee of Enquiry into Overseas Information Services*, 1954, para.33.

of the United Kingdom Universities, convened a conference of linguistic experts to London during December 1960. Amongst the conclusions reached by the conference, three held far-reaching implications for the future: that opportunities lay open for British assistance to English-teaching in institutions overseas, both through financial subsidies and the provision of suitable staff; that there was a case for the establishment of a world career service in the teaching of English; and that United Kingdom Universities faced an obligation to increase their facilities for the training of experts in the teaching of English as a second language.[57]

Clearly, formidable difficulties remained to be overcome in carrying these ambitious aims into practice. The heaviest share of responsibility must unavoidably fall on the United Kingdom and other countries where English was spoken as a native tongue. Yet even in the United Kingdom, universities and other research institutions had very little experience of methods of instruction appropriate to teaching English to students whose concern was with functional rather than cultural values. Moreover, remarkably little was known of the changes in form and inflection which take place when English is brought into use as the local language of African or Asian communities. On the suggestion of the first Commonwealth Education Conference at Oxford in 1959, a Conference on the Teaching of English as a Second Language was convened at Makerere College, Uganda, by the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee, during January 1961. Officials of the British Council played a leading part in the organisation and business of the meeting, and a member of its Executive Committee, Dr Michael Grant, Vice-Chancellor of the Queen's University of Belfast, was chairman. Taking its stand upon the principle that 'upon the provision of teachers all other development depends,' the Conference recommended a vigorous campaign for the recruitment of suitable staff, though the provision of scholarships, fellowships and bursaries on a generous scale. There was a need, it was considered, for closer co-operation between the two great English-speaking nations, Britain and the United States, particularly in the construction of suitable tests and examinations; for much more extensive research; and as matter of urgency, for the establishment of a Commonwealth English Language Information Centre.[58]

[57] *Brit. Counc. Report*, 1960-1961, p.23.
[58] *Report of Commonwealth Conf. on Teaching of Engl. as a Second Language*, 1961, para.13.

The recommendations of the Makerere Conference opened the way for the expansion of a number of exploratory schemes which the British Council had already set in motion. Since the early 1960s, the Council had become increasingly involved in the work of staffing schools, colleges of education and universities with teachers of English from the United Kingdom and other English-speaking countries. During 1957, as the result of considerable prodding by Council officials, the British Government agreed to make available a special grant for this purpose. The grant was sufficient to enable the Council to bring into operation a scheme of guaranteed terms of service for candidates appointed to certain teaching posts overseas. A considerable boost was given to the scheme in 1959 with a recommendation of the first Commonwealth Education Conference that special 'key posts' in the teaching of English should receive special attention in future development plans.[59] With additional assistance from the British Government during the years which followed, the British Council was able to concentrate more and more on the task of providing English specialists in various categories.[60]

Meanwhile, tentative plans for the co-ordination of British and American efforts in the teaching of English had been made at conferences of educational agencies held at Oxford in 1955 and Washington in 1959. At a further Anglo-American conference convened by the British Council at Cambridge in 1961, arrangements were made for the mutual interchange of information, at both national and regional level, and for a common study of the problems of teaching, teacher education and the preparation of instructional materials.[61] These decisions seemed to promise the beginning of a new and potentially highly productive partnership between the main English-speaking nations in the scientific study of the English language as an international medium. An attempt to achieve substantial progress on at least one of the matters discussed by the Cambridge meeting was indicated by the conclusions of a conference on the use of new educational techniques in the developing countries, held in Oxfordshire under the auspicies of the Ditchley Foundation, during February 1966. Starting from the premis that 'the new media are effective only when well used, and too often they have not been,' the conference decided that there was need for a new type of research, capable of synthesising the results of experience in the use of educational

[59] *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1959, para.35.
[60] *Brit. Counc. Report*, 1961-62, pp.1-18.
[61] *Ibid.*, 1960-1961, p.24.

media. Research was particularly necessary into the methods used in adapting materials from use in one cultural or linguistic setting to another. And it was necessary to give attention to the special problems of composite courses, in which a number of different methods such as broadcasting, programmed instruction, correspondence courses and occasional seminars might be used in combination together.[62]

Research of this sort, vital as it was to the development of new techniques of teaching English as a second language, could clearly not be carried very far without the support of a co-ordinating agency of some kind. The Makerere Conference of 1961 had already given recognition to the fact, with its call for the establishment of a Commonwealth English Language Information Centre. The idea received support from the Commonwealth Education Conference at New Delhi during the following year, with a recommendation that the Centre should be located in London and should be supervised by the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee.[63] Even more detailed recommendations were made by the fourth Commonwealth Education Conference at Lagos in 1968, which suggested that the Centre should give particular attention to the problems of English teaching at the primary teacher education and primary school levels, and should be co-ordinated with the work of a number of national English language centre.[64] Evidently the Conference had in mind the extension of organisations on the model of the regional centre for English language teaching which had recently been established at Singapore to serve the South-East Asia area. These recommendations were slow to win any active support from Commonwealth governments, no doubt largely because they represented a more centralised kind of machinery for educational co-operation than had previously been favoured within the Commonwealth. Yet it would also seem that Commonwealth statesmen had come to appreciate the relatively inexpensive and informal facilities for co-ordination which the British Council already supplied, and its unparalleled range of contacts with educational agencies in the United Kingdom and overseas.

There can be little doubt that the British Council would have found it much more difficult to win the confidence of the Commonwealth in the matter of English-language teaching, were it not for the freedom from British Government control conferred by the Royal Charter of 1948. This same freedom was used by the Council to give support to a variety

[62] T. Beardsworth, *Report of a Conf. at Ditchley Park*, 1966, pp.25-26.
[63] *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1962, pp.46-47.
[64] *Ibid.*, 1968, p.119.

of educational activities which had often little or nothing to do with the original aim of extending British culture. 'It is part of the Council's task,' declared the Report for 1950, 'to encourage local talent and interest in local culture, not by thrusting upon Colonial audiences the merits of British styles and idioms, but by providing for those who wish to have it the knowledge of technique and method which will enable them to develop and appreciate and take a new pride in their own work.'[65] Local music, literature and painting were singled out for special attention, apparently because of the comparatively slender support which they received from other Commonwealth programmes of educational co-operation. Sometimes, as in West Africa and the West Indies, the Council worked through university extra-mural departments, using their facilities in the organisation of lectures and discussion groups; sometimes it gave financial support to the activities of local community organisations, as in the case of the People's Education Union of Singapore. Nearly always, there were formidable difficulties to be overcome, both in providing staff capable of supervising a variety of highly specialised activities, and in finding suitable accommodation.[66] Matters were not made any easier by the fact that government still exercised a measure of control in the choice of tasks to be undertaken and the territories to be served. Nevertheless, in the success with which it moved from its old role of an instrument of government policy to a concentration on the service of education in developing countries, and in the range of highly specialised functions which it performed, the British Council set unusually high standards as an agency of international co-operation.

**Efforts of the Ottawa Conference towards closer Co-operation in the use of Mass Media; Educational Television; an Australian-Japanese Survey of Television Requirements; the Origins of C.E.D.O.**

The third Commonwealth Education Conference at Ottawa in 1964 gave much consideration to the problems of closer co-operation in the use of mass media, something which was seen as 'a potential revolutionary force in educational methods.' Though, for the moment, little

[65] *Brit. Counc. Report*, 1950, p.31.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp.32-33. Since 1 January 1950 the British Council had taken over responsibility from the Colonial Office for the welfare of Colonial students in the United Kingdom. Under arrangements completed by the British Government during 1961. the Council was called upon to undertake the administration of a scheme for the provision of 5 000 additional places for overseas students in hostels where they would live and mix with British students. See *Hansard*, 5 *Series*, ccccccxxxv. 1724-5.

forward planning could be done, in the face of a need for further research and experiment, delegates showed themselves prepared to make the first tentative moves towards the establishment of a Commonwealth Centre for Mass Media at some time in the future.[87]

However, difficulties proved to be even greater than in the case of the proposed Commonwealth English Language Information Centre. During the years which followed it became increasingly evident that the traditional Commonwealth pattern of bilateral arrangements between individual member-states was more suited to the problems of sharing complex and often expensive machinery than any central agency was likely to be. Though mass media again received close attention from Commonwealth Education Conferences in 1968 and 1971, there was no further consideration of the plan for a Commonwealth Centre. Instead, Commonwealth educationalists showed themselves anxious to make the most effective possible use of such facilities for co-operation in the use of audio-visual material as already existed in Britain and the other developed countries.

The Oversea Visual Aids Centre (O.V.A.C.), had been established in London during 1958 as an independent organisation, with support from the Ministry of Overseas Development and the Nuffield Foundation. The main object of the Centre was to give advice on audio-visual aids to teachers and other educational workers in overseas countries. To this end, provision was made for display rooms to contain a wide range of aural and visual aids, including many from overseas; facilities for viewing films and filmstrips; library, reference and correspondence facilities; research activities, in co-operation with a variety of individuals and organisations overseas; courses of training in the manufacture and use of aids to teaching.[88]

Though the London Oversea Aids Centre was not specifically committed to the service of Commonwealth countries, or indeed to any co-ordination of its activities with Commonwealth programmes of educational co-operation, it was none the less clear that it must fulfil a special function in meeting a number of urgent Commonwealth needs. Some idea of its usefulness was provided by the variety of assistance afforded to Commonwealth countries during the year which followed the meeting of the Ottawa Conference in 1964; tape material for the teaching of English as a second language in a Brunei secondary school; battery and kerosene operated filmstrip/slide projectors for a

[87] *Report of Commonwealth Educ. Conf.*, 1964, p.81.
[88] *O.V.A.C.: Report*, 1965, p.1.

secondary school in Ghana; microprojectors and episcopes for Hong Kong University; colour transparencies for the Malta Medical School; science teaching material for use with a flannelgraph in a secondary school in Southern Rhodesia; audio-visual equipment for a training college in Zambia, etc. etc.[69] Such activities, if they were to be carried out effectively, required both a basic knowledge of local conditions and a certain elasticity in approach. And these were qualities which a more centralised organisation might often have found very difficult to achieve.

Other special problems were raised by the use of television in an increasingly large number of Commonwealth countries during the years which followed the Second World War. In the United Kingdom, and in those of the older Dominions which followed its example in the establishment of a national television service,[70] educationalists were chiefly concerned with schemes for the sharing of programmes and the development of special techniques of presentation. These matters figured prominently in the Commonwealth Broadcasting Conferences which met in London during 1945 and 1952, and in Sydney during 1956.[71] In the British Colonial territories, however, there were additional difficulties resulting from a lack of finance and skilled personnel. The first television service in a British dependency, inaugurated at Hong Kong during 1957, consisted of wired programmes provided by a commercial company; later in 1957 a non-commercial service began in Cyprus; a commercial station opened in Bermuda during October 1959; the first television in British Africa started in Western Nigeria, also during October 1959.[72] In each case, the policy of the British authorities was to move with caution, giving preference to the extension of sound broadcasting as likely to reach much wider sections of colonial communities, and showing a willingness to use either commercial or non-commercial services, as the circumstances of each particular territory seemed to require. At the same time imperial administrators were aware of the advantages of television as an educational medium, and, in particular, of its possible use in support of traditional British policy of developing indigenous cultures. 'It is,' declared the Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Julian Amery), in a significant reply to Parliamentary questions on television in Kenya, 'something which only a local station can give. It is something, therefore, which offers us

[69] *Ibid.*, p.3.
[70] The first television transmissions were made in the United Kingdom during 1946, in Canada during 1962 and in Australia during 1956.
[71] Mary Crozier, pp.49-50.

both an opportunity and an obligation which no foreign power can fulfil or undertake.'[73]

The foundation of the Centre for Educational Television Overseas (C.E.T.O.) at London during 1962, with support from the Ministry of Overseas Development, represented an attempt to bring British experience to bear on the problems of operating educational television in developing countries. Though the early stages of C.E.T.O.'s work were mainly concerned with the supply of programme material in the form of 'do-it-yourself' kits, the emphasis was gradually moved to the provision of courses of training. A large number of these courses were concerned with training specialist staff for broadcasting authorities in Commonwealth countries. The aim was to provide overseas trainees with the widest possible opportunities to work out individual programmes in accordance with their own special needs. Through the secondment of C.E.T.O. experts — notably in the case of services in Ghana and Singapore — guidance was provided in the preparation of programmes of instruction for both school pupils and adult education. By means of an intimate two-way relationship arranged with the British Council, the latter's officials in overseas countries provided C.E.T.O. with invaluable information on local cultures, whilst C.E.T.O. in turn organised intensive courses of training for British Council television officials.[74]

Meanwhile, other Commonwealth countries had become involved in an enterprise launched by the second International Conference of Broadcasting Organisations on Sound and Television Broadcasting at Tokyo in April 1964. One of the recommendations of the Conference declared that 'in order to meet the urgent need of developing countries for guidance in establishing educational television services for schools, a survey should be carried out in appropriate developing countries which have recently established such a service, to obtain basic information regarding aims, methods, technical facilities and staff required.' As a means of carrying this recommendation into effect, it was decided that an offer to undertake the survey, made by the Australian Broadcasting Commission in co-operation with the Japanese Broadcasting authority, should be accepted.[75]

[72] C.O.1. Ref. Pamphlet 4319, p.5.
[73] *Hansard*, 5 *Series*, ccccccviii. 522.
[74] *C.E.T.O.: Report*, 1967-1968, pp.12-17.
[75] See Australian Broadcasting Commission, *Educational Television in Developing Countries*, 1965.

In the course of work on the survey, Miss K. Kinane, Assistant Director of Education in the Australian Broadcasting Commission, visited of Education in the Australian Broadcasting Commission, visited Ghana, India and Nigeria, in addition to four non-Commonwealth countries. Her report, when presented during 1965, was remarkable in at least two important respects. First, it contained a comprehensive summary of facilities already provided for giving assistance to educational television in developing countries, including facilities provided by Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom under the Colombo Plan and the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan. Second, and more significant, perhaps, there was a statement of principles on which future assistance and development might be based. The keynote of co-operative effort in educational television should, Miss Kinane decided, be *quality*: 'Television is too expensive a medium to operate poorly; the expense becomes worthwhile when the best educational material is made available to teachers and students over a wide area. Only good co-operative planning and a ready availability of material can ensure that this will be so.'[70] There was, it seemed, good reason for believing that in television, perhaps to a greater extent than in the case of any other educational medium, it would be advisable to delay the inauguration of services in many developing countries, until there was a guarantee of sufficient supplies of finance, equipment and local expertise to make high-quality presentations possible.

A growing volume of interest amongst educational opinion in Britain and North America in the need for changes in the school curriculum, so as to make it more adaptable to the knowledge explosion of the mid-twentieth century, resulted in the establishment of the Centre for Curriculum Renewal and Educational Development Overseas (C.R.E.D.O.) in London during 1966. Helped by financial support from the Ministry of Overseas Development and the Nuffield Corporation, C.R.E.D.O. aimed at offering expert advice and assistance in programmes of educational innovation in countries overseas. The means adopted were the provision of specialist training for members of national curriculum development units, the organisation of teachers's conferences, and the encouragement of curriculum development projects of various kinds. At first, the Centre's main concern was with projects designed to improve the teaching of science and mathematics, especially in former British Colonial territories. Later, however, and with the needs of these territories still in mind, assistance was extended to other

[70] *Ibid.*, p.115.

areas of the school curriculum, especially social studies, and to the organisation of examinations.[77] The importance of social studies, and of finding new ways of introducing children to the problems of social re-construction in their own countries, were stressed by a conference held at the Queen's College, Oxford, during 1967, under the joint sponsorship of C.R.E.D.O. and of the Education Development Centre of Newton, Massachusetts.

At a second conference, convened at Mombasa, Kenya, during the following year by C.R.E.D.O. and the Newton Education Development Center, representatives of eleven former British Colonies in Africa reached a number of far-reaching conclusions about future curriculum development. The time had come, they decided, to experiment with new approaches to primary education and the teaching of social studies. It was necessary to encourage 'an integrated approach to learning about the world of the child, which would provide him with active experiences, involve him in his own society, and imbue him with a spirit of enquiry and social consciousness.' In this way the school could be expected to become 'an instrument for community development in both the urban and the rural areas, instead of being merely an agent contributing to the tendency for school leavers to move from the village to the town or city in search of white collar jobs.' However, having so far reached a remarkable degree of unanimity on the importance of these general principles, members of the conference proceeded to express a wide variety of views about how they could be carried into effect. Some wanted to apply the new approach to the whole of the primary school course; others preferred that it should begin with the lower half of the primary course and then be gradually extended to the remaining classes.[78] These differences implied that much investigation remained to be done before any firm proposals could be advanced for the re-organisation of the school curriculum. And it could scarcely be doubted that the success of such investigation would depend very largely on the extent to which expert assistance could be made available from outside.

In the view of British Government officials, there were important advantages to be gained by achieving closer co-operation between the three independent organisations — O.V.A.C., C.E.T.O. and C.R.E.D.O. — which were engaged in organising different aspects of British techni-

[77] *The Role of C.E.D.O.*, London 1970, pp.9-10
[78] *C.R.E.D.O.: Report of a Conf. on Social Studies at Mombasa*, London 1968, pp.6-7.

cal assistance to education overseas. On the decision of the Minister of Overseas Development, the three organisations were amalgamated on 1 April 1970 to form the nucleus of a new Centre for Educational Development Overseas (C.E.D.O.). The decision did not escape without hostile criticism, on the grounds that three such specialist agencies were likely to operate less effectively within the confines of a larger organisation.[79] Yet it would seem that the British Government was doing no more than making a logical extension of the policy of administrative centralisation which had led first to the establishment of the Department of Technical Co-Operation in 1961, and then to the establishment of the Ministry of Overseas Development five years later. There was reason for expecting that the new Centre would become a more effective instrument of co-operation with Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth countries alike, probing and evaluating overseas needs, and directing British efforts to those areas where they could make the most worthwhile contribution to educational progress.

**Public Examinations**

The development of secondary school facilities in many parts of the Commonwealth was greatly influenced by the work of examining bodies in the United Kingdom. By extending their activities to territories overseas, the examining bodies provided schools with a means of measuring their academic achievement in relation to standards in the more advanced countries of the English-speaking world, and allowed their pupils to achieve qualifications with a high degree of international recognition. The system was not without serious disadvantages, as a result of difficulties in operating over large distances and in providing for variations in local life and culture. These difficulties were sometimes increased by the anxiety of local communities to become identified with Western educational traditions. Nevertheless, there was a clearly-discernible tendency, at least during the period which followed the Second World War, for the examining bodies to work towards steadily greater participation by overseas communities in the control of their own examinations.

During the later years of the nineteenth century overseas candidates frequently made use of United Kingdom matriculation examinations, particularly those of the University of London, as a school leaving qualification. The matriculation examinations were largely replaced for this purpose by a new system, established under the impetus of the

[79] *C.E.T.O.: Report*, 1968-1969, pp.1 and 20.
[80] *The Role of C.E.D.O.*: London 1970, pp.2-3.

Education Act of 1902, in which School Certificate and Higher School Certificate Examinations were taken by school pupils at the normal ages of sixteen and eighteen respectively. Among the bodies created to administer the new examinations, two, the London University Board for the Extension of University Teaching[81] and the Cambridge University Local Examinations Syndicate, came to play a particularly active part in the examination of candidates overseas. At first, the examinations of both bodies were intended to serve the needs of school pupils. However, important differences in policy emerged after 1951, when the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate were replaced in the United Kingdom by the General Certificate of Education, at Ordinary and Advanced Levels. Since G.C.E. was not, like its predecessors, a 'subject group' examination, but was awarded on the basis of one or more subjects passed, it was not necessarily appropriate to the circumstances of developing countries, where the achievement of all-round standards of secondary education was often a consideration of primary importance. The Cambridge Syndicate accordingly continued to provide School Certificate and Higher School Certificate Examinations for school pupils in India and in a large number of former British colonial possessions. London University, by contrast, organised G.C.E. examinations, intended for private candidates overseas who wished to qualify for entrance to universities or for professional training. Moreover, in keeping with the liberal traditions of the old university matriculation examinations, London University did not confine its activities to Commonwealth countries, but established examination centres in non-Commonwealth countries such as Somalia and the Camerouns.[82]

United Kingdom examining bodies also played a part in building up traditions of non-academic secondary education overseas. The London City and Guilds Institute (f. 1878) became involved from an early stage in its history in the examination of an increasing variety of technical subjects in both the Dominions and dependent territories. The Royal Society of Arts (f. 1754) provided a more specialised service of examinations for commercial secondary schools in Eastern Nigeria during the years which followed the Second World War.

[81] The London University Board was re-organised in 1929 as the Matriculation and Schools Examinations Council, and in 1951 as the University Entrance and School Examinations Council.

[82] Since 1963 the Associated Examining Board has administered General Certificate Examinations for schools in Rhodesia, Zambia and the West Indies. The Zambian examinations came to an end in 1967.

One of the most characteristic features of the work of the examining bodies was their ability to keep in line with general principles of British colonial policy through the development of syllabuses appropriate to specifically local conditions. By the early 1960s the London University G.C.E. syllabus listed no fewer than sixty-three 'specially approved' languages, which could be taken by candidates when certain conditions were fulfilled. The examinations of the Cambridge Syndicate did indeed receive considerable criticism on the grounds that, by publishing an external syllabus and setting question papers which tended to examine factual knowledge rather than understanding, they imposed some rigidity in teaching methods and encouraged rote learning.[83] Such failings were perhaps the unavoidable result of efforts to create standards of international repute, and to avoid any suspicion of corruption in administration. They were met, first by attempts to achieve greater flexibility in the Cambridge Syndicate's syllabus during the later 1950s, and later by a movement towards the transfer of responsibility for the administration of public examinations to regional authorities.

The movement began in Africa, where feelings of national identity were re-enforcing educational considerations to produce a claim for local examining bodies. The West African Examinations Council, organised during the early 1960s for Ghana, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gambia, included representatives of both the London and Cambridge examining bodies, and continued to work in close conformity with United Kingdom practice. The East African Examinations Council, formed shortly afterwards for Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, delegated the administration of examinations for the time being to the Cambridge Syndicate. In each case, it could be expected that the advantages of international recognition would be retained, while local educationalists would be given time for experiment with syllabuses and examining procedures of their own design. Moreover, with the foundation of the Councils, another important advance became practicable. Beginning in 1965 in West Africa, and 1968 in East Africa, the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate were replaced by a General Certificate of Education. The change implied much more than an attempt to keep abreast of examination practice in the United Kingdom. Freed from the somewhat cramping restrictions of a 'subject group' examination schools would henceforward enjoy much greater freedom in the planning and development of courses for their pupils.

[83] See R. C. Honeybone and J. K. Beattie 'Mainland Tanzania,' in *The World Year Book of Education, 1969: Examinations*, London 1969, p.138.

## Chapter 8

## BRIDGE BUILDING

Programmes of educational co-operation within the Commonwealth have followed no patterns or even rules of any kind. Some governments have preferred to make arrangements on a bilateral level, others to enter into collective arrangements with a group of other states. Sometimes educational programmes have been tied to wider schemes for social and economic development; sometimes they have been designed to fulfil teaching objectives alone. Aid has sometimes been arranged on a reciprocal basis, sometimes not. The contracting parties have been governments, semi-government corporations, independent philanthropic organisations or private individuals.

Moreover, these distinctions apart, the Commonwealth organisation has not proved incompatible with close co-operation with outside states and organisations whenever mutual interests could be served. The Colombo Plan of 1950 was memorable as the first of a series of arrangements for mutual assistance which originated amongst Commonwealth states and were later extended to include non-Commonwealth participants as well. The part played by the United States, in particular, in the Colombo Plan and in the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan which followed it a decade later, provided some indication of the extent to which Commonwealth facilities could be used to good effect by the development agencies of a friendly outside power. An agreement concluded between the British and United States Governments during September 1948 had already provided that the latter would make use of Lend Lease funds for the promotion of mutual understanding between the peoples of the United States and of the United Kingdom and its Colonial Dependencies, 'by a wider exchange of knowledge and professional talents.' A United States Educational Commission was to be established in the United Kingdom as a joint organisation empowered to facilitate the development of educational programmes.[1] However, these arrangements amounted to little that was actually new, since American educationalists had established an intimate relationship with affairs in the Commonwealth during the period between the two World Wars. Most notably, American observers had taken part in Commonwealth Universities Congresses since their

[1] Cmd. 7527, *Agreement between the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom for the establishment of an Educational Commission*, 1948, p.1.

inception in 1912, and American investigators had exerted considerable influence over the course of British Colonial education policy through the publication of the Phelps-Stokes Reports from 1920 to 1924.

In its relations with the educational activities of other international organisations, the Commonwealth has tended to play a complementary rather than a rival role. Commonwealth experts have made frequent use of information from U.N.E.S.C.O. consultants and survey teams in designing programmes of educational assistance to countries in Africa and Asia, while U.N.E.S.C.O. planners, in turn, have relied on Commonwealth assistance to former British Colonial territories as part of their overall strategy for educational development.[2] Membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation or the Organisation for African Unity has provided certain Commonwealth states with machinery for educational co-operation from time to time.

Within the Commonwealth organisation, the somewhat amorphous nature of arrangements for educational co-operation has invariably worked against the establishment of centralised institutions in any form. Such a development must, in any case, have been exceedingly difficult, in view of the remarkable lack of central control in the days of the British Colonial Empire. Though from the 1920s on, a series of documents composed by the Colonial Secretary's educational advisers attempted to lay down the broad outlines of colonial educational policy, these were at no time made mandatory on the territorial administrations concerned. Within a broad framework of general principle, Colonial Governors were encouraged to make whatever arrangements they thought best in the circumstances of their own particular territories. After independence, national rulers showed understandable reluctance to develop any new central institutions in the Commowealth whose existence might be found to threaten their new-founded freedom of action.

Nevertheless, the growing complexity of schemes for international co-operation in education seemed to call for the provision of some centralised machinery for co-ordination and guidance. It was important that resources of manpower and experience should be used in the most effective possible way. During the mid 1950s a group of United Kingdom educationalists became interested in proposals for a 'Commonwealth Teaching Service' which, through achieving the advantages of common conditions of service and a common salary structure, could be

[2] See Cmd. 7715, *The Col. Territories*, 1948-1949, para.440.

expected to make more effective use of educational personnel in developing countries.[3] The idea was almost certainly premature, since educational activity in the great majority of the developing countries of the Commonwealth was still a direct responsibility of the British colonial authorities. However, a revival of the project a decade or so later, in the form of a more elaborate scheme for a 'Commonwealth Career Service,' produced by members of the Council for Education in the Commonwealth, raised important questions for consideration. 'What the emergent nations need more than anything else,' explained one British Member of Parliament (George Thompson), 'is not so much labour as skill. There is room for some sort of full-time Commonwealth service — a career service acting as the spearhead of the experts.' These ideas apparently commanded the support of a substantial body of British educational opinion. Yet British support was no longer sufficient to ensure the success of any measure likely to result in the creation of more centralised machinery for co-operation in the Commonwealth. It was clear that British officials must run no risk of seeming to impose new forms of external control on countries which had only recently graduated from the restraints of colonial rule.[4]

There was, indeed, some evidence that the leaders of the newer Commonwealth countries might be prepared to take the initiative themselves. At the first Commonwealth Education Conference at Oxford in 1959, Ghanaian and Nigerian representatives called for a concerted effort in the form of a Commonwealth career service to meet the needs of developing countries. At the Ottawa Conference in 1964, Ghana proposed the establishment of a Commonwealth graduate volunteers programme.[5] Yet it would seem that the majority of the newer Commonwealth countries preferred to trust to the traditional bilateral arrangements which could be used to ensure the maximum degree of control over their own educational affairs. And the West African representatives, in any case, did not press their proposals during the years which followed.

One of the lessons of the 1960s seemed to be, therefore, that the organisation of large bodies of well-qualified personnel for service in developing countries must become the responsibility of independent

[3] See letters by T. R. Birch in *T.E.S.*, No. 2026 (26 Feb. 1954), p.197, and by R. P. Rees in *T.E.S.*, No. 2028 (15 Mar. 1954), p.248. See also editorial in *Oversea Education*, XXVI.1 (April 1954), p.29.

[4] J. R. Bunting, 'Commonwealth Career Service,' in *T.E.S.*, No. 2603 (9 Apr. 1965), p.1094.

[5] *Ibid.*

agencies, free from any form of political control. The example was set by Voluntary Service Overseas, pioneered by Alec Dickson and others in Britain during 1958 as an organisation for the recruitment of school-leavers, yet rapidly expanding the scope of its activities during the years which followed. V.S.O.'s graduate division was formed in 1962 and subsequently widened its terms of reference to include not only university graduates but also those with many other types of professional qualifications. Though for several years the emphasis was placed on encouraging young men and women to give one year of service to developing countries overseas, an increasing number of volunteers tended to extend their service for a second year. By the end of the first decade of operation in 1968, there were, in all, some 1,750 British volunteers serving overseas, the great majority in the newer countries of the Commonwealth.[6]

More important than increasing numbers, however, was the main intention of the volunteer movement to bring to bear skilled or professional service where they were most needed — not simply to provide vacancies for individual volunteers. By far the largest proportion of volunteers has gone to teaching appointments, some to universities and colleges of education, but the majority to secondary schools, as the main target of expansion in many developing countries. Others have been employed on national development programmes, usually in the fields of agriculture and forestry, industrial training or medical care. With increasingly specialised employment, there is likely to be less demand for the volunteer cadet fresh from Sixth Form studies, and more for those with professional qualifications to contribute. The cadet is likely to remain, none the less, a vital element in the volunteer movement. Through his early first-hand experience of the problems of developing countries, he can be expected to do much to arouse interest amongst fellow-students and others who may one day hold valuable qualifications in professional fields.[7]

Since 1962 the British Government has contributed about 75% of the costs of Voluntary Service Overseas, including payment for work undertaken by the British Council, and has assisted in the establishment of a small secretariat to co-ordinate the activities of the eight voluntary organisations involved in the scheme.[8] Nevertheless, a substantial part of the financial burden has had to be borne by public subscription,

[6] M. Adams, *Voluntary Service Overseas*, London 1968, p.14.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp.15-16.
[8] Cmd. 2736, *Overseas Development: the Work of the New Ministry*, 1965, paras.127-129.

a factor of considerable importance since the volunteer movement clearly posses a unique capacity for bringing British public opinion into intimate contact with the needs of developing countries. The educational benefits to be derived by participants must also be taken into account. As one of those intimately involved in the early stages of the movement wrote: 'Setting out with no thought of a material return, it is an exceptional volunteer who does not bring back a less tangible harvest in terms of experience, maturity of judgment and self-confidence.'[9]

The British volunteer movement also stimulated activity in other Commonwealth countries, notably Canada, where the Canadian University Service Overseas succeeded in introducing a number of new features into its own working arrangements. The financial contribution of the Canadian Government through the Canadian International Development Agency was received on a *per capita* basis for every fielded volunteer, and came to amount to about 80% of the operating budget. Moreover, from the outset, C.U.S.O. placed a greater emphasis on professional qualifications. 70% of its volunteers being university graduates, and virtually all the remainder being in possession of post-school qualifications of some kind. The length of service, too, was normally two or more years. Finally, while the volume of C.U.S.O.'s work was impressive by any standards — by 1970 there were 1,160 volunteers operating in forty-three low-income countries — there was a tendency, from the time of the despatch of the first volunteers in 1961, to concentrate attention on the three former British territories in West Africa. By 1970 some 280 C.U.S.O. volunteers were operating in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone.[10]

Despite its capacity to mobilise large numbers of well-qualified and unusually enthusiastic young people, the volunteer movement possessed certain weaknesses which prevented it from fulfilling many of the functions of a Commonwealth career service. It was unsuited to the task of recruiting mature, experienced educationalists, capable of taking a wide and balanced view of the problems of developing countries. Moreover, there was a danger — as some observers were keenly aware — that the appearance of young, inexperienced and, in the nature of things, socially privileged expatriates, would be seen by the people of developing countries as a greater threat to their national dignity and indepen-

[9] M. Adams, p.17.
[10] J. C. M. Shute, 'Canadian Volunteer Teachers in West Africa,' in *Teacher Education*, xii.1 (May 1971), pp.42-52.

dence than professional workers might have been.[11]

An alternative approach to the problems of providing some form of centralised facilities for co-ordination and guidance was evident in a proposal, put forward in the United Kingdom during the mid 1960s, for the establishment of a Commonwealth University. It was not unreasonable to expect that such an institution would serve both to provide teaching in a variety of fields of special importance to Commonwealth countries, and also to support facilities for reseach and consultation. Students from developed and developing countries alike might have been attracted by courses fitting them for openings in business, the civil service, teaching overseas, broadcasting, journalism and international organisations.[12] As one of the main protagonists of the scheme, Lord Taylor, declared in the House of Lords during 1965:

> We are well enough equipped to produce super-specialists, but in this process we are in danger of ironing out vigour, non-academic originality and enterprise. All the developing countries — and here we ought to include ourselves — need young men and women with guts, vigour and go, trained in the useful arts and sciences, . . . and trained also with breadth of vision and a conception of service.
>
> We need town-planners, architects, civil engineers and surveyors. We need doctors in general medical practice, for both treatment and prevention, in the under-doctored rural areas of the Commonwealth and in our own undoctored rural areas.
>
> We need young people trained in marketing and distribution, in local and central government, and in the Commonwealth. Perhaps more than anywhere else, . . . we need them in printing, journalism and television. One cannot go round the Commonwealth without feeling the need for a cadre of professional journalists, with professional standards of integrity, and good professional printing is one of the things that is most lacking.[13]

Replying on behalf of the British Government, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Walston, made the not very surprising observation that the project was one which must come from the Commonwealth as a whole, and not from Britain acting alone.[14] There were, however, other fundamental issues at stake. It remained to be asked if

[11] *Ibid.*
[12] See G. W. P. Dawson, 'Commonwealth University: meeting a widespread need,' in *T.E.S.*, No. 2607 (7 May 1965), p.1425.
[13] *T.E.S.*, No. 2635 (19 Nov. 1965), p.1091.
[14] *Ibid.*

the concept of a university was in itself appropriate to the Commonwealth structure. A university, to fulfil its traditional academic role, needed freedom from control by any outside body, whether in the ordering of its own affairs, the planning of its courses, the appointment of its teachers and the selection of its student body. And it was, at least doubtful, if these academic privileges could be adequately safeguarded in any institution responsible ultimately to an international organisation, even one as elastic as the Commonwealth had become.

A third and apparently more promising attempt to provide central educational machinery for the Commonwealth came with the establishment of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit in 1960, and the subsequent decision of the Commonwealth prime ministers, in September 1966, to integrate the Unit into the newly-formed Commonwealth Secretariat as its Education Division. These developments were significant as seeming to ensure that, for the first time the services of a body of professional educationalists would be at the disposal of the Commonwealth as a whole. Though the United Kingdom and other more developed Commonwealth countries could be expected to play a leading part in the affairs of the Division for some years to come, there was less reason to fear any attempt at domination. The Division's first Director, L. M. Graham, was a New Zealander, while his successor, Dr J. A. Maraj, came from Trinidad. Provided that members of the Division's staff could be appointed on a long-term basis, and that they would include numbers of genuine specialists in the Commonwealth field, much might be done to ensure a more co-ordinated approach to the problems of educational co-operation in the Commonwealth.

The modest scale of establishment allowed the Secretariat Education Division during the 1960's implied that only very limited facilities could be provided for the foreseeable future. Yet more significant than considerations of size was the tendency for the Division to gather certain new responsibilities as time went on. The most important of these began during 1968 as a result of a decision by the fourth Commonwealth Education Conference, at Lagos, that facilities should be provided for the investigation and analysis of educational developments in the Commonwealth. Though there was every indication that the existing variety of arrangements for educational co-operation within the Commonwealth would go on, without any significant increase in control from the centre, it was likely that wider opportunities would be presented for close co-operation between different programmes.

This possibility was almost certainly increased by the entry of the United Kingdom to the European Economic Community on 1 January

1973. The British decision was probably to be explained, less by any intention to abandon the Commonwealth, than by a realistic acceptance of changing circumstances in the Commonwealth itself. As one government spokesman declared, shortly after the failure of the first British attempt to join the Community in 1963:

> The government believed that our entry into the Common Market would have been a good thing for the United Kingdom which would have become richer and, therefore, able to buy more from overseas and from the Commonwealth, good for Europe, which would have become possibly more liberal and outward-looking, and good for the Commonwealth in the increased demand for its products. In our general increase of riches we should have been able to give the Commonwealth more than we can now.[15]

It remained to be seen if Britain's entry to the Community would give her any general increase of riches, or would enable her to regain something of the political and economic influence which she had enjoyed in the days of imperial rule. If British fortunes were indeed restored, then it must further be seen what share of the benefits she would be prepared to pass on to her Commonwealth partners. Again, Britain's future standing in the Commonwealth must ultimately be decided in relation to the growing political and economic capabilities of several other Commonwealth states. The answers to these questions did not, however, by any means exhaust the full implications of Britain's commitment to Europe. There were still certain specialised fields in which the British contribution to the Commonwealth could continue unimpaired. The situation was summarised by a distinguished Australian statesman, Lord Casey, as early as 1963. 'Britain,' he declared, 'is not faced with a clear-cut alternative between the Commonwealth and the European Economic Community . . . The cohesion of the Commonwealth depends on many other factors besides trade. There is the prospect that Britain, Europe and the Commonwealth in the long run might have the best of both worlds.'[16] A remarkably similar judgment was delivered five years later by a British prime minister, Harold Wilson. Though Britain was, as Wilson pointed out, both an Atlantic and a European country, with 'an inescapeable duty to assist in the constructive process of unity in Europe,' as her 'natural base,' it

[15] *Hansard* 5, ccccclxxvi. 648.

[16] Lord Casey, *The Future of the Commonwealth*, London 1963, pp.145-146.

was still in the Commonwealth that she faced the greatest opportunity of contributing to 'one world.'[17]

Some concrete evidence of the manner in which British statesmen might endeavour to 'have the best of both worlds' came as a result of a meeting of the nine heads of government of the enlarged European Community, held at Paris during October 1972. Part of the final communique, concerning 'External Relations,' which apparently owed much to the influence of the British prime minister, Edward Heath, implied the growth of a new sense of collective responsibility on the part of the nine towards developing countries in the outside world:

> The Heads of State or of Government affirm that their efforts to construct their Community attain their full meaning only in so far as Member States succeed in acting together to cope with the growing world responsibilities incumbent on Europe.
>
> The Heads . . . are convinced that the Community must, without detracting from the advantages enjoyed by countries with which it has special relations, respond even more than in the past to the expectations of all the developing countries. With this in view it attaches essential importance to the policy of association as confirmed in the Treaty of Accession and to the fulfilment of its commitments to the countries of the Mediterranean basin with which agreements have been or will be concluded, agreements which should be the subject of an overall and balanced approach.
>
> In the same perspective . . . the institutions of the Community and Member States are invited progressively to adopt an overall policy of development co-operation on a world-wide scale.[18]

The developing countries of the Commonwealth could expect to draw some benefit in material terms from a more concerted approach to aid by the countries of the European Community. Yet even more important, in the long run, was the prospect of opening up new educational contacts between the mainly English-speaking peoples of the Commonwealth and European countries. Such a movement might very well develop along whatever avenues of communication British statesmen found possible to arrange between the Commonwealth Secretariat Education Division and the central agencies of the European Community. It might also operate on a regional level, as the result of closer contacts between former British and French Colonies, who shared associate membership of the Community. A wider sharing of educational

[17] *A.R.*, 1968, p.54.
[18] *The Sunday Times*, 22 Oct. 1972.

experience could not fail to bring far-reaching benefits, both in the impact of many new cultural traditions and in the encouragement to fresh approaches to the problems of international co-operation.

At the same time British membership of the European Community might have the effect of accelerating a movement already under way within the Commonwealth to give developing countries an increasingly responsible part in the administration of programmes of educational development. Since the close of the Second World War, Commonwealth educational planners had looked for ways in which programmes of aid could be made to operate on a reciprocal basis. Even the least developed participants in the Colombo Plan and the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan had been encouraged to contribute what they could in training facilities or expertise. The principle was carried a little further in the arrangements made by the fifth Commonwealth Education Conference at Sydney in 1971 for the establishment of a Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-Operation:

> Contributions towards the costs of the programme of the Fund may be accepted from the government of any state in the Commonwealth. Such contributions may be made either on an annual basis or for a period of more than one year. Contributions will to the maximum possible extent be freely usable for the purposes of the Fund including the covering of local costs of activities being financed by the Fund. Nevertheless the Board of Representatives may accept contributions in both convertible and non-convertible currencies and of training facilities and other resources required to achieve the purposes of the Fund, and may agree to the designation of certain contributions to cover the costs of specified activities being financed by the Fund.[19]

It was, in fact, not unreasonable to conclude that Commonwealth educational co-operation was passing through a temporary, perhaps, even preparatory phase, to be followed by one in which there was a much more equal sharing of advantages and ideas. 'Some day,' said Sir Alec Douglas-Home, 'there will be a cross fertilisation, a flow of capital and expertise betwen the various partners. But till then it is Britain and a few others in the Commonwealth who must carry the cost.'[20] Such an eventuality did not depend only on a lessening of the gap between the richer and poorer countries of the Commonwealth. It was probably no less important to encourage the development of new international

[19] *Commonwealth Foundation for Technical Co-Operation*, London, Commonwealth Secretariat, 1971, p.9.
[20] *Survey of British and Commonwealth Affairs*, iv. 24 (20 Nov. 1970), pp.1013-1015.

groupings on a regional basis, in which each individual country would be able to make its own distinctive contribution to the common well-being. The enlarged European Community might well serve as the example and prototype for a similar series of regional groupings in Africa, Asia and the Pacific. If that happened, Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth states alike would face many new opportunities for co-operation in educational and culture matters. And the Commonwealth Secretariat Education Division, in turn, would find itself the nerve-centre of an increasingly complex system of educational contacts, running both inside and outside the Commonwealth organisation.

Much was likely to depend, too, on the manner in which Britain used its position as a natural bridge between the Commonwealth and the countries of the European Community. Whatever the impact of the new relationships might be in political and economic terms, there were good reasons for believing that Britain's educational responsibilities to the Commonwealth would increase rather than diminish with her involvement in Europe. Through British educational institutions, particularly at the tertiary level, Commonwealth peoples could expect to find access to Europeans experience and modes of thought; European peoples, at the same time, might be encouraged to extend their intellectual and cultural contacts with English-speaking peoples overseas, through the availability of research and information in Britain. Clearly, the successful operation of such a two-way relationship would depend, not only on the continued support of British government policy, but also on the interest and involvement of many different sections of British opinion. With the final passing of the period of imperial responsibility, and the onset of new opportunities for extending British influence in Europe, it was, perhaps, inevitable that there should be some feeling of disenchantment with the Commonwealth. But this feeling could certainly be carried too far. In the wider and more productive use of the many historical links which bound her to a variety of people overseas perhaps lay Britain's greatest opportunity of service to the world.

Machinery for increasing British awareness of the Commonwealth already lay at hand within the framework of three societies: the Royal Commonwealth Society (f. 1868 as the Colonial Society), the Victoria League for Commonwealth Fellowship (f. 1909), and the Royal Overseas League (f. 1910). Each society provided the amenities of a social club linking people from many different parts of the Commonwealth. And each, in its distinctive way, attempted to focus attention on the opportunities for Commonwealth co-operation. The Royal Commonwealth Society, with its specialist library on Commonwealth subjects,

and its sponsorship of scholarly publications by students of the Commonwealth, was particularly well-fitted to assist research studies at an advanced academic level; the Victoria League specialised in welfare facilities for young people from the Commonwealth taking up residence in Britain; the Royal Overseas League, with a membership roll of more than 50,000 and residential premises in many Commonwealth countries, could offer facilities for the encouragement of a wide variety of culture activities.[21] The independent status enjoyed by all three societies was probably a pre-requisite for the kind of work which they were called upon to perform. Nevertheless, there appeared to be good reasons for allowing them substantial financial assistance from government or private philanthropic resources, to allow the development of much wider contacts between people in Britain and in the Commonwealth countries overseas.

In the circumstances of the twentieth-century world, the Commonwealth has changed dramatically, and will no doubt continue to change. For, despite the persistence of some sentimental attachments — most notably in popular attitudes towards the Crown — the Commonwealth is an essentially practical organisation, committed to the satisfaction of a variety of human needs. The pragmatic attitudes, so evident among Commonwealth leaders in both the imperial and post-imperial periods, can be expected to reap further benefits and making adjustments to new relationships and new ideals. That, in itself, will not necessarily lead to the end of the Commonwealth. But it implies a realisation that habits of friendly informal consultation and co-operation between peoples of widely different political, cultural and ethnic traditions must not become dependent upon formal political relationships of any kind.

[21] T. R. Reese, *The History of the Royal Commonwealth Society*, 1868-1968, London 1968, pp.86-89.

## TRANSCRIPT OF DOCUMENTS

### 1. British Colonial Education Policy

An extract from the Memorandum of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in Africa on *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*, 1925, (Cmd. 2374, 1924-5, XX1.27).

**Adaptation to Native Life**

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race. Education thus defined will narrow the hiatus between the educated class and the rest of the community whether chiefs or peasantry As a part of the general policy for the advancement of the people every department of Government concerned with their welfare of vocational teaching — including specially the departments of Health, Public Works, Railways, Agriculture — must co-operate closely in the educational policy. The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services, as well as of those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility. As resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education.

**Religion and Character Training**

The central difficulty in the problem lies in finding ways to improve what is sound in indigenous tradition. Education should strengthen

the feeling of responsibility to the tribal community, and, at the same time, should strengthen will power; should make the conscience sensitive both to moral and intellectual truth; and should impart some power of discrimination between good and evil, between reality and superstition. Since contact with civilization — and even education itself — must necessarily tend to weaken tribal authority and the sanctions of existing beliefs, and in view of the all-prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African it is essential that what is good in the old beliefs and sanctions should be strengthened and what is defective should be replaced. The greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects. Such teaching must be related to the conditions of life and to the daily experience of the pupils. It should find expression in habits of self-discipline and loyalty to the community. With such safeguards, contact with civilization need not be injurious, or the introduction of new religious ideas have a disruptive influence antagonistic to constituted secular authority. History shows that devotion to some spiritual ideal is the deepest source of inspiration in the discharge of public duty. Such influences should permeate the whole life of the school. One such influence is the discipline of work. Field games and social recreations and intercourse are influences at least as important as class-room instruction. The formation of habits of industry, of truthfulness, of manliness, of readiness for social service and of disciplined co-operation, is the foundation of character. With wise adaptation to local conditions such agencies as the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movements can be effectively utilised provided that good Scout Masters are available. The most effective means of training character in these ways is the residential school in which the personal example and influence of the teachers and of the older pupils — entrusted with responsibility and disciplinary powers as monitors — can create a social life and tradition in which standards of judgment are formed and right attitudes acquired almost unconsciously through imbibing the spirit and atmosphere of the school.

**The Educational Service**

The rapid development of our African Dependencies on the material and economic side demands and warrants a corresponding advance in the expenditure on education. Material prosperity without a corresponding growth in the moral capacity to turn it to good use con-

stitutes a danger. The well-being of a country must depend in the last resort on the character of its people, on their increasing intellectual and technical ability, and on their social progress. A policy which aims at the improvement of the condition of the people must therefore be a primary concern of Government and one of the first charges on its revenue. But success in realising the ideals of education must depend largely on the outlook of those who control policy and on their capacity and enthusiasm. It is essential, therefore, that the status and conditions of service of the Education Department should be such as to attract the best available men, both British and African. By such men only can the policy contemplated in this memorandum be carried into effect. It is open to consideration whether a closer union between the administrative and educational branches of the service would not conduce to the success of the policy advocated. Teachers from Great Britain should be enabled to retain their superannuation benefits, and to continue their annual superannuation contributions, during short service appointments to approved posts in Africa.

**Grants-In-Aid**

The policy of encouragement of voluntary effort in education has as its corollary the establishment of a system of grants-in-aid to schools which conform to the prescribed regulations and attain the necessary standard. Provided that the required standard of educational efficiency is reached, aided schools should be regarded as filling a place in the scheme of education as important as the schools conducted by Government itself. The utilisation of efficient voluntary agencies economises the revenues available for educational purposes.

The conditions under which grants-in-aid are given should not be dependent on examination results.

**Study of Vernaculars, Teaching and Text Books**

The study of the educational use of the vernaculars is of primary importance. The Committee suggests co-operation among scholars, with aid from Governments and Missionary Societies, in the preparation of vernacular text-books. The content and method of teaching in all subjects especially History and Geography, should be adapted to the conditions of Africa. Text-books prepared for use in English schools should be replaced where necessary by others better adapted, the foundations and illustrations being taken from African life and surroundings. Provision will need to be made for this by setting aside

temporarily men possessing the necessary qualifications. In this work co-operation should be possible between the different Dependencies with resulting economy.

**Native Teaching Staff**

The Native Teaching Staff should be adequate in numbers, in qualifications, and in character, and should include women. The key to a sound system of education lies in the training of teachers, and this matter should receive primary consideration. The principles of education laid down in this memorandum must be given full and effective expression in institutions for the training of teachers of all grades, if those principles are to permeate and vitalize the whole educational system. The training of teachers for village schools should be carried out under rural conditions, or at least with opportunities of periodical access to such conditions, where those who are being trained are in direct contact with the environment in which their work has to be done. This purpose can often best be served by the institution of normal classes under competent direction in intermediate or middle rural schools. Teachers for village schools should, when possible, be selected from pupils belonging to the tribe and district who are familiar with its language, traditions and customs. The institution of such classes in secondary and intermediate schools should be supplemented by the establishment of separate institutions for the training of teachers and by vacation courses, and teachers' conferences . . .

2. **Universities Congresses**

Speech by Sir Hari Singh Gour, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Nagpwe, delivered at the fifth Congress of the Universities of the British Empire at Cambridge, 1936 (*Report of Proceedings of Fifth Congress of the British Empire*, London, George Bell, 1936, pp.253-4).

The Universities of the Empire discharge a common purpose, as the prime minister, the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, stated this morning. The common purpose of all the Universities of the British Empire is to foster and develop an academic union and an academic freedom. Let me assure you, on behalf of the University which I represent, that is our purpose. In coming here from such a long distance to take part in this Congress of the Universities of the Empire, we feel that we are doing our duty not only to the Universities of the Empire but to our own University, which has that purpose in view.

These Congresses, held periodically in various centres of the United Kingdom, serve a double purpose. No doubt they deal primarily on questions of education, but they also foster a spirit of camaraderie and good fellowship and mutual understanding between the component members of the British Commonwealth which has a far-reaching significance. Let me assure you that when I go back to my country I shall voice the feeling of cordiality and of generous hospitality extended to us by His Majestry's Government, and express the gratitude which we feel for the spirit in which all the members of this Congress, representing the various Universities of the Empire, have tackled the large and weighty questions which concern us in our own Universities.

We are all working for a common purpose. Our object is to foster and develop education and to fling open to one and all the wide doors of greater and truer knowledge. We have often been told that we must develop and foster and promote research. We, the members of the Universities, are all lovers of truth, and in whatever walk of life we work, whether in the domain of the exact sciences or in metaphysics, we desire to pursue knowledge for its own sake. In that respect we may be justly described as the votaries of truth, and, as the votaries of truth and knowledge we have a common meeting-ground. We who have come from different communities and different dominions can foregather and discuss questions of common interest to our mutual advantage.

### 3. Colonial University Colleges

Chapter VIII, 'The Governing Authority of Colonial Universities and Colleges,' from *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, 1945* (Cmd. 6647, 1945, IV. 673).

#### 1. The importance of automonomy

In our view it is essential that Colonial universities should be autonomous in the sense in which the universities of Great Britain are autonomous. This does not mean that they should not be under certain obligations. They should be required, for example, to publish an annual report accompanied by a financial statement, and wherever grants are sought either from the United Kingdom or from Colonial funds it is reasonable that periodical visitations should take place by a properly constituted authority. We have in mind the analogous visitations of the University Grants Committee in this

country. The Colonial universities should, in effect, have full freedom to manage their own affairs, though placed under the obligation to present an account of their stewardship. Only if autonomy so understood is allowed, can that degree of freedom of teaching and research be secured which is fundamental to a university; only in these conditions can the highly expert task of maintaining proper academic standards be carried out.

2. **Practice in this country**

The newer universities of this country have constitutions which, while varying in detail, follow the same general plan. This plan has been found to work with success, and we recommend that it should be followed in the Colonies. In this scheme we find two chief offices, those of Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, and two chief organs of government; the names given to these organs vary, but there is always a supreme organ of government which we shall call the Council and a body of purely academic composition which we shall call the Senate.

This scheme of government is also applicable to university colleges though they do not have a Chancellor. The officer corresponding to the Vice-Chancellor is the Principal, and the body corresponding to the Senate is usually known as the Academic Board. It may be observed that if it were found desirable to have an officer at a university college with the status and powers of a Chancellor, other than the power of granting degrees which is not possessed by a university college, he might be called the Visitor.

In order to secure the required degree of autonomy it is not enough to have these officers and these organs of government. Two further conditions are indispensable. The Senate must possess full authority in purely academic matters; otherwise, however independent the university may be, academic issues, which should be the sole responsibility of the academic staff, will be subject to determination by the Council, a body in which the representatives of the academic staff will be in a minority. In other words, a proper measure of autonomy for the academic staff within the university is necessary. It is of equal importance that the members of the Council nominated or elected by any one outside organisation or institution shall not be in a majority; otherwise the university may become a mere creature of that organisation. The composition of the Council should therefore be well balanced; moreover, the method whereby outside organisa-

tions appoint members to the Council should be such as to secure as far as possible that these members are not so much representatives of outside interests as persons well qualified for the task of forwarding the true aims of a university.

### 3. Outline of constitution for Colonial universities

We now offer a sketch of the broad outlines of a constitution suitable for Colonial universities; while retaining the main constitutional principles found in our newer universities, we have attempted to take account of the special situation which will face universities in the Colonies. The Council is the supreme body; it is the trustee of the property of the University, and it authorises all expenditure. It appoints the Vice-Chancellor and fills all non-academic posts. We consider that the power to appoint the Chancellor should rest with the Crown. To the Senate are assigned all academic matters relating to curricula and examinations; it is responsible for the control and discipline of students; it is empowered to make regulations. In certain spheres the two bodies co-operate; the Council promotes statutes and frames ordinances after consulting the Senate, and it makes all academic appointments on the recommendation of the Senate. There is an appeal to the Council on matters in dispute in the Senate, and to the Chancellor on matters in dispute in the Council. The Chancellor is the final arbiter in all matters which may be referred to him.

### 4. Composition of the Council

As already indicated, the composition of the Council is a matter of great importance. It should not be too large a body; it would be well if its numbers did not greatly exceed twenty. For the members other than the representatives of the Senate will be drawn from different walks of life and sometimes from different Colonies and will not normally be known personally to one another. If they are to form a body between the members of which there can grow up a certain degree of intimacy, as is most desirable, they must not be too numerous. The methods of attaining seats on the Council will be various, some will hold seats ex-officio, others will be elected, nominated or co-opted.

The two chief officers of the university will be members of the Council ex-officio. When present the Chancellor will preside, but he would not normally be expected to attend. It might be laid down that the Vice-Chancellor should be chairman of the Council in the

absence of the Chancellor, thus exercising the power of the Chancellor in this as in other spheres when the Chancellor is not present, or it might be thought best for the Council to elect its chairman. The Vice-Chancellor should be chairman of the Senate ex-officio, and since much business comes forward from the Senate to the Council it may be easier for the Vice-Chancellor to present this business to the Council if he is not also its chairman.

Not less than one third of the seats on the Council should be held by members of the academic staff. It is a great convenience of the deans of the principal Faculties are members of the Council; they should therefore be members ex-officio. But a majority of these seats should be filled by election by the Senate, and the restriction on total numbers which we have suggested may mean that not more than three of the deans could be members ex-officio. Provision is sometimes made for one or more of these seats to be filled by members of the non-professorial staff; but in the absence of such a provision the non-professorial staff would not be excluded from membership if our subsequent recommendation that the non-professorial staff should have seats on the Senate is adopted.

We now approach the question of the presence on the Council of persons who are not members of the university. We would assign up to one third of all seats to persons nominated or elected by the Legislatures and by the Executive Governments in the area served by the university, but it is to be desired that the majority of these seats should be filled by representatives of the Legislatures. The filling of seats by the Legislatures would be a method of enabling the people in the areas served by the university to take a share in the direction of university policy, and it is appropriate that they should be in a position to do so. While we hold that the university should neither be directly controlled nor appear to be controlled by the government we consider that on many grounds it is advisable that the executive Government should have some representation on the Council.

As regards the remaining seats we should like to see provision made for the nomination by the Chancellor to a certain number of seats to provide for those who may be qualified by experience or who possess personal qualities which might be of assistance to the Council. We would hold that for this purpose members of the government services should not necessarily be excluded, but they would be nominated on their personal qualities, not as representa-

tives of Government. We would like to see formed an organisation of the graduates of the university, which might be called either the Guild of Graduates or Convocation; this body should be represented by at least two members on the Council. In our opinion such a body might be of much assistance to the university, and not only by electing members of Council; while it would have no other formal powers, it would enable graduates to keep in touch with developments and to offer advice; in short it would focus the loyalty of graduates to their university.

Finally, we propose that one or two seats should be filled by the Inter-University Council. We realise that these members will seldom be able to attend, though we hope that they would visit the university once a year and be present for at least one meeting of the Council. But we think that the provision of these seats would be useful because those holding them would receive all the papers of the Council of the university and would be able to keep the Inter-University Council fully informed of the current business of the university. They would also, no doubt, convey their views on current business in writing to the Vice-Chancellor for communication to his Council.

We realise that it may be difficult to secure the regular attendance of a majority of the members of the Council so constituted and it may be necessary for it to arrange that its business may be transacted either through an executive committee with sufficient powers to avoid the delay of current business or by a suitably balanced quorum of its members.

### 5. Composition of the Senate

The composition of the Senate is a less difficult problem. It would consist of the Vice-Chancellor, who would be ex-officio chairman, all professors, all deans of Faculties, heads of departments who are not professors, and certain officers, as for example, the librarian. In addition there would be representatives of the non-professorial staff elected by the members of that section of the staff; these representatives should not form more than a sixth of the total number composing the Senate. Under the Senate there would be Faculties to whom power to determine certain matters would be assigned.

### 6. The Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor

Some indication has been given of the mode of appointment and

of the powers of the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor. The former office is honorary and the holder should be a man of distinction and experience. It is hoped that he would preside on ceremonial occasions. He would be available for advice but would not intervene in the affairs of the university unless invited to do so, as for instance, by arbitrating in a matter of dispute. In the absence of the Chancellor all his powers would be exercised by the Vice-Chancellor who should be a man of good academic standing and administrative experience.

**4. Colleges of Citizenship**

Charter for the College of Rhodesian Citizenship, drawn up by the Capricorn Africa Society, C. 1961. (Rhodes House MS. Af. S.970).

The College will seek to show that in our country people of different colour, religion, and culture, and people from the countryside and from the towns can, by understanding their spiritual and material dependence on each other, achieve a sense of common material purpose. The College aims to give these people, men and women, self-confidence in social and cultural contact with one another; to make them feel that they all have a stake in the economy of the country; and to give them an understanding of the machinery of government at every level from rural councils to the central Parliament.

Impiicit in the teaching of the College will be the main convictions outlined below:

**On Economics:** The belief that Africa south of the Sahara is comparable in natural wealth, and therefore in economic potential, to the other great continents of the world, and that its inhabitants have a moral obligation to develop these resources for their own enrichment and for the enrichment of mankind as a whole.

**On Man's Rights and Obligations:** The acknowledgment that the great freedoms of life must be protected by certain disciplines and that all rights have reciprocal duties. The belief that man's fulfilment of his responsibilities to his fellow men is the essential foundation for a community and for the assertion of his rights as an indivdual.

**On Culture:** The belief that the cultural standards of our country can be heightened by respect for the heritages of our different races, and by the stimulus of one culture on another. Only by encouraging the especial genius of each will it become possible, through the influence of a shared patriotism, for the roots of our different heritages gradually to grow together to feed the tree of a greater national culture.

**On Patriotism:** The belief that patriotism means the love of our country, and of the peoples who live in it. Only a nation founded on the idea of a common patriotism dedicated to truth and love can with confidence, in the circumstances of Africa, resist the the idea of racial nationalism, communism and other propositions which betray truth and love.

**On Religion:** The recognition that God is worshipped with equal sincerity in many different ways, and therefore our mutual respect and tolerance of the great religions, without loss of faith or betrayal of our own particular religion.

The College will teach that this concept of nationalism, compared with the narrow concepts of the last century, opens up a vastly greater range of freedom — a world free from religious, racial, national and tribal exclusiveness, yet one which acknowledges the validity and distinctiveness of each is nourishing and not restricting factors in the wholeness of our country's being. The College holds that the reintegration of the human race on this pattern would lead to the highest form of nationalism and that the winning of it by mankind is the crucial challenge of all history.

### 5. The Nature of the Modern Commonwealth

An extract from the first *Annual Report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General*, 1966, pp. 1-3.

The Commonwealth is a living organism, not a political blueprint. It has developed over the years, not according to any written constitution or central plan, but as a product of a long series of courageous and sometimes very difficult decisions, on immediate and practical issues, by statesmen from many parts of the world. It began by an entirely novel concept in international relations: that colonies could attain sovereign independence by a process of negotiation — sometimes involving difficulties of pressure, persuasion, and argument, but ultimately by peaceful and friendly agreement — with the former administering power. This solution to the problem of national liberation, which previously had been insoluble peacefully, has been of great significance in world politics.

The Commonwealth, however, is not in any sense an automatic inevitable or obvious result of the peaceful dissolution of an Empire. Several nations once governed directly or indirectly by Britain are not members of the Commonwealth. When statesmen who have led their nations to independence have decided to seek membership in

the Commonwealth, they have not appeared to be motivated by sentimentality about the past, but by a constructive vision of the future and by realistic assessments about their country's national interest. For many of them the past included memories of racial discrimination, political struggle and jail. The decision was taken because these leaders saw practical value for their countries and for humanity, in retaining and building on the positive aspects of an association that linked races and continents, and in surmounting past inequities, rather than in using unpleasant memories and resentments for nation building based on the perpetuation of suspicions and divisions, as lesser politicians have so often done.

The assessment of national interest in seeking or retaining Commonwealth membership has often involved consideration of what a country can get out of the association, in the way of useful contacts and co-operation with other members, and of what a country can put into it, using Commonwealth channels as one of the instruments through which it can contribute its influence to the shaping of international opinions and policies.

As the process continued, however, and as more and more territories attained independence and decided to seek Commonwealth membership, the result for the Commonwealth has been a change not merely in size but also in kind.

Once Commonwealth links used to be thought of by the public, in some member countries, essentially in terms of bilateral relations between the country concerned and Britain. That limited concept, though understandable in the early stages of de-colonization, is now clearly inadequate. The Commonwealth has become a network of links, bilateral and multilateral, between nations in many parts of the planet: and therein lies its significance.

No single country or city is the centre of the Commonwealth. The decision of Prime Ministers that the Secretariat should be established in London was appropriate for many reasons of history, geography and convenience of communications, including the large diplomatic representation there. At the same time, the establishment of the central Secretariat makes it easier to organise Commonwealth meetings from time to time in other Commonwealth capitals, while adding to the international impartiality of Marlborough House as a convenient and frequently-used common meeting place.

Once the Commonwealth was a very small and homogenous group of nations, all mainly of European origin, all relatively rich. It is

now a typical cross-section of mankind and its problems. The association includes representative and important peoples from virtually all the main races, in all the continents, with a tremendous range of cultural traditions and of economic potentialities and problems, at every stage of development. It includes very rich countries and very poor ones, very large nations and very small.

This diversity is a measure of the value of the Commonwealth, actual and potential, as an international association. Its significance lies not in achieving unanimity within a homogenous group of the like-minded, but in the opportunities it affords to maintain and develop the habit of consultation and constructive co-operation among important representatives of so many regions, races and divisions of mankind. Consultation in the modern Commonwealth involves grappling with the major problems of world politics — those involved in relations between the races, between regions and civilizations, between the rich nations and the poor nations; the problems of world economic imbalance, of development, and of the search for a secure basis for peace.

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## SYNOPSIS


A. ORIGINAL SOURCES

I. MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| ENGLAND — LONDON | | |
| | Public Record Office | 251 |
| | British Museum | 251 |
| | OXFORD | |
| | Bodleian Library | 251 |
| | Rhodes House | 251 |

II. PRINTED MATERIAL

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Commonwealth Institutions | 252 |
| 2. | British Government Departments | 253 |
| 3. | Parliamentary Proceedings | 255 |
| 4. | Reports of Committees and Commissions | 255 |
| 5. | Memoirs and Personal Papers | 256 |
| 6. | Periodicals | 256 |
| 7. | Pamphlets | 257 |
| 8. | Public Corporations and Councils | 258 |
| 9. | U.N.E.S.C.O. | 258 |
| 10. | Other Documentary Material | 258 |

B. SECONDARY AUTHORITIES

| | |
|---|---|
| British Colonialism | 260 |
| The Commonwealth Structure | 260 |
| Policy and Planning | 261 |
| School Systems | 262 |
| Adult Education | 263 |
| Higher Education | 264 |
| Biography | 264 |
| Reference | 265 |


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# INDEX


Aborigines Protection Society, 23.
Academic imperialism, 47, 173.
Accra Riots, 1948, 65.
Achimota School, 34-5, 37, 41, 59, 62, 124, 175.
Aden, 211.
Addis Ababa Conference, 1961, 73.
Adult education, 83, 86, 103-128, 212-13.
Afghanistan, 69.
Africa, 8, 21-2, 31-8, 56-7, 62-3, 65, 70-5, 80, 104-5, 116, 121-2, 123-4, 127, 132, 147, 149-51, 155-61, 174, 176-7, 178-82, 183, 184, 187, 190, 195n, 202, 209, 212, 213, 217, 219, 221, 222, 225, 227, 230, 236.
African Studies Association of America, 184.
*Afrikaaner* community in South Africa, 18, 133, 178.
Afro-Anglo-American Programme, 72-3, 95.
Agricultural education, 86, 99-101, 108, 124-5.
Alberta, University of, 132.
Allahabad, University of, 131.
Allied Colonial Universities Conference, 1903, 135-6.
Anglican Church, 15, 16, 130.
Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1982, 23.
*Annual Register*, 7.
Arusha Declaration, 1967, 99.
Ashanti, Ghana, 67n, 107.
Ashby Commission for Nigeria *Report, 1960*, 14, 73-4, 94, 155, 156, 165, 174.
Ashby, Sir Eric, 73, 155, 160.
Ashby-type courses, 94.
Asia, 9, 67, 68-70, 80, 132, 174, 176-7, 178-82, 213, 216, 227, 236.
Asikiwe, Dr Nnamdi, 156.
Asquith Commission *Report, 1944*, 60, 115-16, 145-7, 149-50, 151, 153, 154-5, 156, 160, 161-2, 163, 174.
Associated Examining Board, 224n.
Association of Commonwealth Universities, 88, 171.
Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 81n, 167.
Attlee, Clement, 64.
Australia, 8, 17, 25, 68, 71, 103, 131, 135, 136, 138, 169, 194, 196, 202, 211n, 212, 213, 220-1.
Australian National University, Canberra, 132n.

Bahamas, 30, 211n.
Balfour *Report, 1926*, 26, 144, 175.
Barbados, 200n.
Beit Trust, 121.
Bermuda, 219.
Bhutan, 69.
Binns *Report, 1952*, 60.
Board of Education (United Kingdom), 28, 29, 30.
Bombay, University of, 131.
Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, University of, 156-7, 158-9.
Bradley, Sir Kenneth, 209.
Brayne, F.L., 111.
Bridges Committee *Report, 1962*, 191.
British Broadcasting Corporation, 196, 197-200, 200n, 211.
British Columbia, University of, 132.
British Council, 91-2, 168, 209-17, 220, 229.
British Empire, 7-9, 10, 14, 15-63, 64-7, 72, 95, 113, 129, 131, 133, 136, 137, 145, 148, 174, 175-6, 186-91, 194, 198, 202, 203, 204, 206, 207, 227.
British Expatriates Supplementation of Service Scheme, 165.
British Government. See United Kingdom, Government of.
British Guiana, 110, 200n.
British Honduras, 200.
British Institutes, 210.

British Overseas Services Aid Scheme, 71.
Broadcasting, 117, 196-200, 210-11, 219.
Burma, 69.

Calcutta, University of, 131,
Cambodia, 69.
Cambridge Conference 1929, 103-4.
Cambridge Conference, 1952, 60-1.
Cambridge, University of, 117, 129, 133, 136, 173, 176, 182, 185-6, 224-5
Canada, 8, 15-16, 17, 25, 26, 49, 68, 71, 75, 77, 80, 103, 129, 132, 133, 135, 136, 138, 169, 195, 196, 202, 211n, 212, 221, 230.
Canberra Conference, 1971, 126.
Cape Town, 65.
Capricorn Africa Society, 121.
Carnegie Foundation, 47, 72, 104, 114, 164, 171n, 183.
Carr-Saunders, Sir Alexander, 167.
Carr-Saunders Commission for Central Africa *Report, 1952*, 152-3, 172.
Carr-Saunders Commission for Malaya *Report, 1948*, 117, 151.
Cartmel-Robinson Commission for Central Africa *Report, 1949*, 152.
Casey, Richard Gardiner, Baron, 233.
Central African Federation, 65, 72, 119, 120, 153, 154, 156, 211n.
Centre for Curriculum Renewal and Educational Development Overseas, 221-3.
Centre for Educational Development Overseas, 223.
Centre for Educational Television Overseas, 220-2.
Ceylon, See Sri Lanka.
Chamberlain, Joseph, 23.
Character training, 33, 35, 36, 41.
Church Missionary Society, 130.
Citizenship training, 98, 116, 120-2.
Clarke, Sir Fred, 47.
Codrington, Christopher, 130.
Codrington College, Barbados, 130.
Colombo Plan, 13, 68-70, 75, 90, 221, 226, 235.
Colonial Department (London University), 47-8, 110, 177-8
Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, 49-55, 62, 68[illegible], 111-12, 165n, 180, 186-7, 188.
Colonial Education Service, 48, 62, 92.
Colonial Film Unit, 195n.
Colonial Office, 17, 23, 30, 3[illegible] 43, 44, 45, 46, 49-55, 56, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 84, 91, 95, 108-10, 117, 163, 173, 176, 178, 190, 198, 204.
Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in Africa, 38-42, 43.
Colonial Office Advisory Commttee on Education in the Colonies, 26, 43-6, 59-60, 104-5, 106, 107-8, 112.
Colonial Records Project, 184.
Colonial Research Advisory Committee, 52, 54, 188-91.
Colonial Research Committee, 175-6.
Colonial Society. See Royal Commonwealth Society.
Colonial Universities Grants Committee, 146.
Columbia University, 72, 129.
Commonwealth Conference on Education in Rural Areas, 1970, 128.
Commonwealth Declaration, 1971, 12-13.
Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council, 70-1.
Commonwealth Education Conference, 1959, 14, 76-81, 84, 87, 92, 93, 214, 215, 228.
Commonwealth Education Conference, 1962, 82-3, 84, 85, 125, 216, 228.
Commonwealth Education Conference, 1964, 83-4, 85, 94, 125, 166, 217-18, 228.
Commonwealth Eucation Conference, 1968, 75, 85-6, 88, 125-6, 216, 218, 232.
Commonwealth Education Conference, 1971, 86-9, 126, 218, 235.
Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee, 81, 83, 88.
Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit, 81-2, 83-4, 231-2.
Commonwealth Foundation, 88, 171n.

Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-Operation, 86-7, 91, 235.
Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference (formerly Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference), 7, 12, 85, 86, 87.
Commonwealth Institute, 205-9.
Commonwealth Relations Office (United Kingdom), 91 95, 168.
Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Scheme, 75-9, 87, 89, 169-70.
Commonwealth Secretariat, 84-5, 86, 87.
Commonwealth Secretariat, Education Division, 85, 86, 87, 88, 232, 234, 236.
Commonwealth Studies Center (Duke University), 183.
Commonwealth Studies Committee, 203-5.
Commonwealth Studies Institute (London University), 182-3.
Commonwealth Studies Institute (Oxford Universiy), 185.
Community development, 37, 42, 60, 104, 106, 108-12.
Compulsory attendance, 55.
Congress of Universities of the Empire, 1912, 136-8, 140.
Congress of Universities of the Empire, 1921, 139.
Congress of Universities of the Empire, 1926, 139-40, 176.
Congress of Universities of the Empire, 1931, 140, 143-4.
Congress of Universities of the Empire, 1936, 140.
Congress of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 1948, 166-8, 174n.
Congress of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 1953, 168.
Congress of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 1958, 169, 174n.
Congress of Universities of the Commonwealth, 1963, 170-1.
Congress of Universities of the Commonwealth, 1968, 171, 172.
Congress of Universities of the Commonwealth, 1973, 171-2, 174n.
Co-operative societies, 107, 109, 110-11.
Council for Education in the Commonwealth, 82n, 228.
Council for Technical Education and Training for Overseas Countries, 90n.
Council of Women in India, 123-4.
Cranborne, Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, Viscount, later fifth Marquis of Salisbury, 59, 62, 188.
Cromer, Rowland Baring, second Earl of, 176.
Curzon, George Nathaniel, first Marquess, 21, 131.
Cyprus, 200n, 211, 219.

Dar es Salaam, 74, 127.
Dar es Salaam, University of, 118, 150, 162.
De La Warr Commission *Report, 1937*, 144, 150-1.
Denham, Sir Edward, Governor of the Gambia, 46.
Denmark, folk high schools in, 108, 111.
Denominational schools, 15-18.
Department of Education in Tropical Areas (London University), 47-8 91, 110, 177-8.
Department of Technical Co-Operation (United Kingdom), 89-90, 95, 191.
Diefenbaker, John, 75, 169.
Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth, 23, 25.
Ditchley Park Conference, 1963, 12, 13.
Ditchley Park Conference, 1966, 215-16.
Domboshawa School, Rhodesia, 37, 104.
Douglas-Home, Sir Alec, formerly fourteenth Earl of Home, 13, 89, 235.
Drogheda Committee *Report, 1954*, 212-13.
Dual Mandate, 31, 32, 34, 37.
Dulverton Trust, 120, 121.
Durham *Report, 1839*, 18.
Durham, University of, 130, 131, 134,

East African Agricultural Research Institute, Tanganyika, 186.
East India Company, 19.
Eccles, Sir David, 93.
*Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, 1925*, 40-2, 56, 59, 61, 105.
Educational cruises, 209.
Edward VII, H.M. King, 205.

Elizabeth II, H.M. Queen, 9, 208.
Elliott Commission *Report, 1945*, 60, 116, 148-50.
Elton, Geoffrey, Baron, 11.
Empire Marketing Board, 28, 187, 206.
English language, 8, 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 30, 36, 46, 74, 79-80, 92, 94, 110, 128, 133, 173, 198, 199, 210, 211n, 213-17 218.
Ethiopia, 73.
European Economic Community, 232-5.
Evans, Sir Ifor, 163.
Examinations, 18, 21, 101, 223-5.
Expatriate teachers, 46, 80, 83.
External degrees, 131, 146, 161-2.
Extra-mural university departments, 112-13, 114, 115-19.

Falkland Islands, 196.
Federated Superannuation Scheme for Universities, 164-5, 168.
Fiji, 196, 200n.
Films, 117, 194-5, 197, 211, 218.
Fisher, H.A.L., 179.
Fletcher, Professor B.A., 119, 122.
Ford Trust, 114, 184n.
Fortescue, Chichester, 201.
Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, 130, 144, 148-50.
French language, 16, 133, 198.
Fulbright Trust, 114.

Gambia, the, 46, 65, 225.
Gandhi, Mahatma, 56, 97-9, 100.
Gardiner, Robert, 117.
George V, H.M. King, 176.
Ghana, 8, 34, 35, 36, 37, 65, 72, 73, 92, 117, 124, 196, 219, 220, 221, 225, 228, 230.
Ghana, University of, 85, 115, 117, 128, 149, 150, 162.
Gibraltar, 196, 211.
Gladstone, W.E., 22.
Gold Coast, See Ghana.
Gordon, General Charles George, 22.
Gordon College, Khartoum, 59, 130.
Gorell, Ronald, third Baron, 195.
Graham, L.M., 232.
Grant, Dr Michael, 214.
Grenada, 110.
Grey, Sir Edward, Governor of New Zealand, 17.
Grimond, Joseph, 92.
Grundtvig, Nicholas, 111.
Guggisberg, Sir Frederick Gordon, 34-7, 38, 40, 41, 61, 96, 124.

Hailey, William Malcolm, Baron, 52, 54, 56, 187, 188.
Hall, George, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, 53.
Hancock, Professor W. K., 182.
Harcourt, Lewis, Colonial Secretary, 136.
*Harizan*, 97.
Harvard University, 129.
Heath, Edward, 234.
Hill, Dr Alex, 140-3, 174.
Hofmeyr, G.M., 25-6.
Hokpandu, Togoland, 110.
Holism, 10-11, 12.
Home, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, fourteenth Earl of, 13, 89, 235.
Home Base Scheme, 165.
Hong Kong, University of, 132, 183, 219.

Hope Fountain Mission, Rhodesia, 104.
Huddersfield Conference, 1966, 85.
Huggins, Sir Godfrey, Viscount Malvern, 153.
Hunter, Guy, 121.
Husain, Zakir, 97.

Ibadan, University of, 74, 114n, 115, 150, 155, 162, 183.
Ife, University of, 156, 166.
Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad, 186.
Imperial Conference, 1926, 26.
Imperial Education Conference, 1911, 24-5, 136.
Imperial Education Conference, 1923, 25, 26-7, 194.
Imperial Education Conference, 1927, 28, 29, 48, 140, 195, 197.
Imperial Education Conferences, postponement of, 48-9.
Imperial Institute. See Commonwealth Institute.
Imperial Studies Committee. See Commonwealth Studies Committee.
India, 8, 18-21, 33, 44, 55-6, 64, 68, 71, 82-3, 97-9, 111, 123, 131, 136, 138, 173, 176, 202, 212, 221.
Indian Independence Act, 1947, 64.
Indian Universities Act, 1904, 131.
Indian Universities Commission, 1902, 131.
Indonesia, 69.
Industrial schools, 33, 37.
Ingram, Derek, 11.
Institute of Commonwealth Studies (London University), 182-3.
Institute of Commonwealth Studies (Oxford University), 185.
Institute of Development Studies (Nairobi University), 192n.
Institute of Development Studies (Sussex University), 191-3.
Institute of Education (London University), 48, 110, 177-8.
Institute of Medical Research, Malaya, 186.
Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, 146, 149, 163-5.
Iran, 69.
Ireland, 7, 15, 129, 174n, 207.
Irvine Committee *Report, 1945*, 116-17, 118, 147-8.

Jamaica, 30, 66, 94, 110-12, 200.
Jamaica Welfare Limited, 110-11.
Japan, 69, 151, 177, 220-1.
Jeanes Teachers, 41, 104, 105, 124.
Jeffery Report, 1952, 60.
Jha, Dr V. S., 81-2.
Jones, Arthur Creech, Colonial Secretary, 67.

Kapnek, J. P., 152.
Kaunda, President Kenneth, 11-12, 101-2, 157-8.
Keigwin, H. S., 37
Kenya, 31-2, 37, 60n. 65, 72, 75, 94, 104, 110, 118, 121, 124, 196, 219, 222, 225.
Khama, Sir Seretse, 158-9.
Khartoum, Gordon Memorial College at, 59, 130.
Khartoum, University of, 162.
Kinane, Miss K. 221.
King Edward VII College of Medicine, Singapore, 151.
King's College, London, 46, 176.
King's Colleges in Canada, 129.
Kitchener, Herbert Horatio, Earl, 130.
Knutsford, Sidney Holland, second Viscount, 206.
Korea, 69.

Lagos, 30
Lagos Conference, 1968, 75, 85-6, 88, 125-6, 216, 218, 232.
Lagos, University of, 156, 171n.

League of Nations Trusteeship, 38.
League of Nations Central Committee for Intellectual Co-Operation, 141-3.
League of the Empire, 24, 27.
Leverhulme Trust, 184.
Lewis, Professor L. J., 177-8.
Liberia, 73.
Literacy, 20, 55, 83, 86, 98, 110, 200.
Livingstone, David, 21-2.
Lloyd, Selwyn, 71n.
Lockwood Committee for Northern Rhodesia *Report, 1963*, 157.
Logan, Sir Douglas, 168.
London City and Guilds Institute, 224.
London Day Training College, 46.
London, University of, 20n, 46-8, 72, 91, 110, 117, 131, 134, 135-6, 146, 147, 150, 161-3, 168, 176-8, 181, 182, 204, 205, 223-5.
Lugard, Frederick Dealtry, Baron, 31, 37, 40, 41, 61, 96, 124, 132, 133.

MacAlister, Sir Donald, 142.
Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Baron, 19, 21.
MacDonald, Malcolm, 53.
McGill University, 129, 135, 136, 147.
McLean Commission *Report, 1939*, 144, 151.
Macmillan, Harold, 9, 65-6.
Macquarie, Lachlan, Governor of New South Wales, 17.
Madras, University of, 131.
Makerere, University of, 59, 72, 118, 150, 162, 214, 216.
Malawi, 8, 65, 104, 110, 152.
Malawi, University of, 156.
Malaya, University of, 151.
Malaysia, Federation of, 66, 71, 147, 151, 186, 200.
Malta, 66, 196, 198, 200n, 211, 219.
Malta, Royal University of, 133, 163.
Manley, Norman, 111.
Maraj, Dr J. A., 232.
Mary, H. M. Queen, 204.
*Mass Education in African Society, 1944*, 59-60, 106, 108.
Masterman, Bishop J. H. B., 103-4, 105.
Matheson, Dr J. A. L. 172-3.
Mauritius, 198, 200n.
Mayhew, Arthur, 43n.
Meath, Reginald Brabazon, twelfth Earl of, 204.
Menzies, Sir Robert, 185.
Miers, Sir Henry, 136.
Milner, Alfred, Viscount, 23, 175, 186.
Mindolo, Zambia, 121.
Missionaries, 21-2, 38-9, 174.
Mombasa Conference, 1964, 94.
Montreal Conference, 1958, 75, 77, 78, 89, 169.
Morris, Sir Philip, 81.
Morrison, Herbert, 167.
Mponela, Malawi, 110.

Nairobi, University of, 150, 162.
Natal, 18.
National Committees for Intellectual Co-Operation, 142-3.
National Council for the Supply of Teachers Overseas, 93.
Nationalism, 56, 107, 149, 155, 180.
Nepal, 69
New Delhi Conference, 1962, 82-3, 84, 85, 125, 216, 228.
New South Wales, 17.
New Zealand, 8, 9, 17-18, 68, 71, 103, 135, 169, 183, 196, 211n, 212, 213.

Newton, A. P., 205.
Newton Education Development Center, Massachusetts, 222.
Nicholson, Harold, 58.
Nigeria, 65, 72, 73-4, 92, 94, 110, 117, 124, 149, 155-6, 157, 160, 174, 200n, 211n, 219, 221, 225, 228, 230.
Nigeria, University of, 156.
Nkrumah, President Kwame, 84.
Non-Co-Operative Movement (in India), 56.
North American Colonies, 129.
Northern Rhodesia, See Zambia.
Norway, 11.
Nova Scotia, 49, 111.
Nuffield Foundation, 60, 184n, 218, 221.
Nunn, Sir Percy, 46.
Nyasaland. See Malawi.
Nyerere, President Julius, 12, 63, 99-102, 127.

Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, 24, 30.
Oppenheimer, Harry, 185.
Ormsby-Gore, William, fourth Baron Harlech, 61.
Oriental languages, 19, 176-7, 182.
Ottawa Conference, 1964, 83-4, 85, 94, 125, 166, 217-18, 228.
*Oversea Education*, 43.
Overseas Visual Aids Centre, 218, 222.
Overseas Development and Service Act, 1965, 165.
Overseas Development Ministry (United Kingdom), 94-5, 165n, 166, 218, 220, 221, 223.
Oxford Conference, 1959, 14, 76-81, 84, 87, 92, 93, 214, 215, 228.
Oxford, University of, 117, 129, 133, 136, 166, 173, 176, 178-80, 182, 184-5, 222.

Pakistan, 64, 68, 71, 212.
*Pall Mall Gazette*, 22.
Parker, Sir George, 137.
Parker, Gilbert, 135.
Pearson, Lester, 185.
Peers, Professor R., 112-113.
Pembroke College Conference, 1955, 114-15, 119, 120, 123.
Penn, William, 15.
Percy, Lord Eustace, 29.
Perham, Dame Margery, 185.
Phelps-Stokes Commission *Reports, 1920-4*, 37-8, 104, 227.
Philip, Arthur, Captain-General of New South Wales, 17.
Phillipines, 69.
Pickard-Cambridge Commission *Report, 1939*, 144, 148-9.
Plymouth Committee *Report, 1936*, 197, 199.
Polytechnical education, 97, 101.
Potchefstroom Christian University, 133.
Pretoria, University of, 133.
Primary schools, 20, 36, 55, 83, 99, 100, 106, 126, 151, 203, 216, 222.
Public Schools (in the United Kingdom), 33, 202.
Punjab, University of 131.

Quebec, 16.
Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford, 185.

Raffles, Sir Thomas, 130, 174.
Raffles College, Singapore, 130, 151, 174.
Ranche House College, Rhodesia, 121-2.
Ranfurly Library Service, 211n.
Raybould, Professor S. G., 114-15, 119, 120, 122.

Read, Professor Margaret, 177.
Research, 37, 41, 52, 54, 84, 134, 138, 148, 160, 164, 175-193, 199.
Residential schools, 33, 35.
Rhodes, Cecil John, 170n, 178-9.
Rhodes Trust, 137, 178, 184.
Rhodes-Livingstone Memorial Institute, Zambia, 186,190.
Rhodesia, 37, 72, 73, 104, 119-22, 152-4, 195, 219, 224n.
Rhodesia, University of, 119-22, 152-4, 162, 171-2.
Rockefeller Foundation, 177, 180, 183.
Roman Catholic Church, 15, 16, 43, 133.
Rowntree Trust, 120.
Royal Commonwealth Society, 201-6, 236-7.
Royal Overseas League, 236-7.
Royal Society of Arts, 224.
Rucker, Sir Arthur, 135-6.
Russia, 57-8, 97, 98.

St Vincent, 30.
Sandys, Duncan, Commonwealth Secretary, 11.
Sarawak, 200.
Sargent Act for India, 1944, 56.
Saskatchewan, University of, 182.
Scarbrough, Laurence Roger Lumley, eleventh Earl of, 170.
Scarbrough Commission *Report, 1947*, 177, 180-2, 183.
School curriculum, 18, 20-1, 33, 35, 37, 41, 62-3, 74, 86, 100, 101, 221-3.
School of Oriental and African Studies (London University), 176-7, 182.
Secondary schools, 20-1, 33, 36, 60, 67, 83, 84, 99, 100, 122, 128, 130, 151, 202, 203, 204, 207, 208-9, 223-5.
Seers, Dudley, 193.
Sherlock, Philip, 118.
Sidney Sussex College Conference, 1951, 112-13, 114, 235.
Sierra Leone, 30, 65, 73, 130, 149, 150, 196, 200, 225, 230.
Sierra Leone, University of, 150.
Singapore, 114, 130, 151, 200n, 217, 220.
Singapore Conference, 1971, 12.
Slavery, abolition of, 21, 23.
Smuts, Field-Marshal Jan, 10-11, 12, 178-80, 183.
Smuts Trust, 185-6.
Smith, Arnold, Commonwealth Secretary-General, 9-10.
Social education, 82-3.
Somerset, Lord Charles, 18.
South Africa, 18, 25-6, 49, 65-6, 97, 133, 135, 138, 152n, 156n, 171-2, 174n, 196.
Southern Rhodesia. See Rhodesia.
Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan, 13-14, 70-2, 221, 226, 235.
Special Commonwealth Programme for Rhodesian Africans, 87.
Special Relationship schemes (for university institutions), 146, 160, 162.
Sri Lanka, 8, 44, 46, 68, 199, 212.
Sri Lanka, University of, 144-5.
Stanley, Oliver, Colonial Secretary, 55n, 57, 60, 62, 64.
Standing Committee of British Vice-Chancellors and Principals, 138, 142, 143, 213-14.
Statute of Westminster, 1931, 26n, 47, 75.
Stead, W. T., 22, 25.
Stellenbosch, University of, 133.
Straits Settlements, 30.
Study and Serve Overseas, 166.
Sudan, 22, 59, 130, 147.
Sussex, University of, 75, 191-3.
Swaziland, 94, 156, 157n, 159.
Sydney Conference, 1971, 86-9, 126, 218, 235.
Sydney, University of, 131, 132.

Tanganyika, 59, 65, 94n, 110, 118, 127, 186, 200n.
Tanzania, 8, 12, 63, 94, 99-101, 124, 225.
Tate, Frank, 194.
Taylor, Stephen J. L., Baron, 231.
Teachers, certification of, 18, 24, 27.
Teachers, education of, 36, 41, 45, 46-8, 50, 60, 72-5, 76, 80, 89, 91, 216,
Teachers, exchange of, 27, 28, 45.
Teachers, recruitment of, 24, 76, 79-80, 88, 91, 92-4, 215.
Teachers, salaries of, 21, 27, 36, 93.
Teachers, superannuation of, 27, 29, 42, 80, 93.
Teachers' College, Columbia University, 72.
Teachers for East Africa Scheme, 94.
Technical education, 42, 67, 69, 71, 89.
Technician Training Scheme (for universities), 166.
Television, 219-221.
Text-books, 35, 41, 82, 84, 202, 204-5.
Thailand, 69.
Thompson, George, 92, 228.
Tjolotjo School, Rhodesia, 37.
Tobago, 110.
Togoland, 110.
Toronto, King's College at, 129.
Trinidad, 66, 110, 200n.
Trinity College, Dublin, 129.

Udi, Nigeria, 110.
Uganda, 65, 72, 60n, 73, 94, 118, 150, 186, 199, 225.
United Fruit Company (Jamaica), 111.
United Kingdom, 9, 11, 12, 25, 27, 28, 29, 42, 43, 47, 53, 54-5, 61, 64, 67, 68, 71, 77, 89-96, 126, 164, 169, 180, 187, 191, 195, 201, 203, 206, 207, 212, 214, 219, 221, 223-5, 227-8, 229-31, 232-7.
United Kingdom Government, 13, 16, 26, 28-9, 43, 48-9, 51, 53, 54, 56-7, 78, 89, 95, 106, 119, 134, 138, 139, 141, 142, 147, 153, 165, 175, 176-7, 185, 176-7, 191, 192n, 197, 198, 201, 208, 210, 215, 222-3, 226, 231-2.
United Kingdom Parliament, 28, 45, 52-3, 54, 59, 62, 89, 92, 133-4, 196, 206, 207, 231-2.
United Kingdom Universities, 114, 117-18, 119, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133-5, 138, 139, 141, 145-7, 150, 151, 154-5, 157, 160, 164-5, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175-80, 192, 204, 205, 214.
United Nations Organisation, 58, 69.
U.N.E.S.C.O., 73, 88, 108, 114, 124, 127, 227.
United States of America, 57, 69, 94n, 124, 138n, 140, 170n, 174n, 183, 190, 211n, 214, 215. 226.
*Université Laval*, 133.
*Université de Montreal*, 133.
Universities Bureau, 137-8, 140-4, 166-7, 174.
Universities Congress, 1912, 136-8, 140.
Universities Congress, 1921, 139.
Universities Congress, 1926, 139-40, 176.
Universities Congress, 1931, 140, 143-4.
Universities Congress, 1936, 1[illegible]
Universities Congress, 1948, 166-8, 174n.
Universities Congress, 1953, 168.
Universities Congress, 1958, 169, 174n.
Universities Congress, 1963, 170-1.
Universities Congress, 1968, 171, 172.
Universities Congress, 1973, 171-2, 174n.
Universities Grants Committee (United Kingdom), 134, 164.
*Universities Year Book*, 137, 141.
University College, London, 176.
University education, 34, 37, 43, 47, 60, 101, 112-22, 127, 129-76.

Vernacular languages, 8, 21, 36, 62-3, 213.
Victoria League, 236-7.
Vietnam, 69.
Vischer, Hanns, 43n.
Visiting Scientists Teaching Abroad Scheme, 165.
Visual Instruction Committee (of Colonial Office), 204-5.
Vocational education, 42.
Voluntary service overseas, 13, 229-31.

Walston, Henry D. G. L., Baron, 231-2.
Wardha Scheme, 97-9.
West Indies, 50-1, 66, 80, 110-12, 147-8, 200, 217.
West Indies Royal Commission *Report, 1940*, 50.
West Indies, University of, 85, 115, 116-17, 118, 147-8, 15?, 162, 200, 224n.
Wilberforce, William, 130.
Williams, Roger, 15.
Wilson, Harold, 233.
Windsor, Nova Scotia, King's College at, 129.
Windward Isles, 200n.
Women's education, 20, 34, 36, 41, 113, 122-6.
Wood, Sir Charles, 19-20.
Woolley, Professor John, 132.
World Association for Adult Education Conference, 1929, 103-4.
World War, First, 25, 31, 37, 38, 58, 123, 138.
World War, Second, 9, 13, 44, 52-3, 54n, 55, 58, 64, 71, 81, 106, 111, 124, 140, 149, 169, 171, 174, 177, 178, 187, 188, 198.

Yale University, 129.
Yellow Fever Research Institute, Uganda, 186.
Yew, Lee Kwan, 185.

Zambia, 8, 11, 65, 94, 101-2, 104, 121, 152, 186, 190, 219, 224n.
Zambia, University of, 156, 157-8.